Notes toward a history of

MEDIEVAL & RENAISSANCE ART

with a translation of

THE PILGRIM'S GUIDE TO SAINT-JAMES OF COMPOSTELA

Constantine Christofides

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS

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This book, with an emphasis on Romanesque art in France, is the outline of lectures given at Syracuse, Seattle, Paris, Poitiers and Avignon, to beginning students of literature and art over a period of ten years. It is intended to be used in conjunction with encyclopedic histories of art. These pages are the result of direct experience and live primarily in the twenty thousand photographic images that I have made of these art forms, some of which will appear in the next edition of this work.

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION	*1*
I.	EARLY CHRISTIAN ART	*8*
II.	BYZANTINE ART	*11*
III.	CAROLINGIAN AND ISLAMIC ART	*18*
IV.	ROMANESQUE ART: NORMANDY, NORTHWEST EUROPE, ITALY	*20*
V.	THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY	*24*
VI.	ROMANESQUE: POITOU	*27*
VII.	ROMANESQUE: BURGUNDY AND PROVENCE	*32*
VIII.	ROMANESQUE: AUVERGNE, THE SOUTHWEST AND SPAIN	*36*
IX.	CHARTRES AND GOTHIC	*42*
X.	THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY	*46*
XI.	THE RENAISSANCE IN THE NORTH	*58*
	APPENDIX: *THE PILGRIM'S GUIDE TO SAINT-JAMES OF COMPOSTELA*	*65*
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	*99*

Near East, Mediterranean Europe, and the Orient. By the time Christianity was established as the official religion, the nomadic barbarian tribes from east of the Danube and from the North were overruning Europe in the wake of the collapse of the Roman Empire. The emperors welcomed these peoples, settled them on plots of land, and took them into the armies as conscripts. It is a mistaken idea to think of these people as "barbarians," for it was they who revitalized Western Europe. They brought to Europe new ideas and new ways of creating artifacts; they knew how to work with gold, leather, and glass. By the fourth century a clash of traditions was occurring in Europe.

It was not long before a distinctive Christian style would appear in the West, one that would embody the value system of the new religion as it became established in Europe. By the sixth century in Constantinople one of the most original and magnificent buildings that has ever been built was erected: the name, Hagia Sophia, meaning the Holy Wisdom (of Christ) is reminiscent of Sophia in philosophy. The wisdom of the ancients was to become the wisdom of Christ. There was to be a constant play between old cultures and the new religion in the process of amalgamation, the synthesis being the appearance of the Gothic style in the second half of the twelfth century, the international Christian style for Europe over a period of four hundred years. It was the first great new style since Classical Greece. We will go on to examine influences, metamorphoses, connections, traditions in the evolution of Christian art.

The Middle Ages was an age that witnessed masses of people on the move. They moved on pilgrimages in the fervor of the new Christian faith to Rome, and by the tenth century through the arid landscape of the Pyrenees to Santiago de Compostela in northwest Spain (see Appendix). Santiago (St. James, cousin of Christ) governed the most important pilgrimage of the Middle Ages. The destination of another mass movement of people was Jerusalem where the Crusaders went to liberate, ostensibly, the Holy Land from the "infidels," the Moslems. But there were also economic and social reasons that exacted that armies march in Holy War. The Crusaders sometimes lost sight of their purpose as when in 1204 on the way to Jerusalem they sacked the splendid city of Constantinople, the other half of the Christian Empire. The looting that occurred in the hands of Christians against Christians may have been worse than the looting that occurred when Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453.

The Middle Ages, then, evolved from the agricultural concerns of the Germanic tribes as they became amalgamated into the residue of the Roman Empire to a feudal society which rested on the obligation of serf to lord, the serf serving the lord and the lord obligated to protect the serf in time of war. It was a value system of mutual obligations which even in a heavily agricultural economy encouraged the construction of buildings.

For Western culture to make images has meant to extend the life of the inner self by projecting it onto mirrored forms that bypass speech. Art thus acquires a life of its own. As Christ went through an incarnation and became body and lived on earth, so medieval art, always aspiring to transcendence, always reaching for a spiritual dimension, accepted its place in life and reinforced the process of Parousia. At no point did the artist think that he was at the center of the universe or that the figurative forms that he created were at the center of the universe. The supremacy of science, the infinite possibilities of man to become a kind of god, was to be a distinctly Renaissance idea. There is a materialistic aspect to all art since art is made of matter, but for the medieval period matter transcended matter, and forms made by men on earth evoked the Heavenly City, or Paradise. As everything that has been said about God has been said by man, so everything that has been created for God has been created by man. And it is the transcendence of matter through form in great art that casts the artist in a role parallel to that of the creator of the cosmos.

In architecture the world of the Mediterranean and of Europe, which possessed the legacy of Rome, meaning the legacy of Greece, made a synthesis of two traditions. One tradition was the post and lintel construction of the Greeks, that system of balances and illusions that produced a harmonious whole, an art based on mathematics and geometry. This tradition combined with the tradition of arch building which the Romans used in a number of great monuments. The idea of circularity and the idea of dome construction came to the West from the Near East--ideas the Greeks knew about but did not use profusely. The idea of post and lintel construction and the idea of the arch and dome characterized in various ways many constructions in the sixth-century Christian West. In sixth-century Ravenna this is demonstrated by S. Apollinare Nuovo, which has repeated the use of columnar supports and elevations of a basilican type building. A Roman architect would have understood what the structure meant. This tradition of a basilican type church, abounding in Rome as in old St. Peter's, was to contrast with that of the centralized concept in the construction of buildings. For example, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople has a gigantic dome a hundred feet in diameter enclosing an interior space which contemporaries likened to heaven. They said that the dome was suspended from heaven with a golden chain. On it today we have calligraphy; therefore it is fair to go to a dome from another centralized church at Daphne near Athens for the feeling of heaven on earth. The centralized idea took hold in Byzantine lands, in Islamic lands, and appeared in the West through cultural exchanges and crusades. In style apparent ends are also beginnings.

Our initial concern after the breakdown of the Roman Empire is with that value system succeeding the Greco-Roman world, which created visual forms conforming to the imaginations, the aspirations, the dreams of the practitioners of Christianity despite the admonitions of the new

religion against this. Works of art stand outside the Christian's quest for absolute truth. The paradox is that by the fifteenth century the Catholic church will be one of the greatest patrons of the arts.

Society may be defined as an area in which people cooperate. Invariably the group has an avowed purpose, stemming from a philosophical system, a folkloric system, a religious system, an economic system. Once a society begins to build, four coordinates can be determined: 1) establishing a training system; 2) producing leaders in that society; 3) establishing an economic basis--attention must be given to how the wealth will be gathered and distributed; 4) applying judicial sanctions--deviants from a society must be dealt with, according to a set of injunctions, by those who have decided that their society has purposes that must be safeguarded. In early Christianity the main purpose was to train members of that society to be worthy of a later life that would be better than this life. Asceticism was preparation for both death and eternal reward. The leaders were religious people. The economy was based on Christ's teaching and monasteries were organized, self-sufficient micro-societies, issuing sanctions against transgressors. Eventually cities would be become a projection of a society's values.

In early Christianity there was no systematic program in artistic creation and activity in the arts was utilitarian. The Christians in Roman lands who needed a place to worship usually met in the house of a prominent person, but after Constantine established Christianity as the official religion of the empire special buildings were created for the worship of the new set of gods. At that time asceticism was an altruistic life. One must give up earthly goods to follow Christ as well as turn the other cheek. By the time of the sensuous splendors of the Italian Renaissance, within a span of a thousand years, there would be a shift from the ascetic purpose to a counter purpose. Ultimately an attempt to restore the purity of the initial Christian idea caused a revolution and a reformation which in turn set out to define new purposes with regard to the four coordinates that have been cited.

Two important questions must be considered: 1) what insures the survival of antique forms through Early Christianity and their influence on art; 2) what happens to Early Christian art if there is no ancient art around for inspiration?

> And now what will become of us without Barbarians? --
> Those people were some sort of a solution.
>
> Constantine Cavafy

In the fifth century "barbarians" invaded Western Europe. ("Barbarian" is of Greek coinage, denoting someone who does not conform to one's own system of values; "bar-bar" is how Persian sounded to the Greeks.) The Greeks had a superior culture in that they possessed the skills by which to operate at the highest level of intellectual abstraction. To call the invaders "barbarians" was to invoke a standard in art and thought.

The Greek idea of perfection had tyrannized the perception of art. Only after the Renaissance did the human mind begin to break these shackles. Classical ideas along with Christian ideas designate art from the Byzantine era to the French Revolution. In general, it is only organized societies that create art on a monumental scale. The barbarians were mostly nomadic people; therefore their arts were minor arts (meaning small in size and relatively small in importance, if you compare, for instance, decorated shields with cathedrals). Periodically, a society will pool all of its technical resources in a gigantic artistic or technical summation that will be a definition of all of its energy at all levels. A summation of life of mind and soul during the medieval period may be seen in the cathedral at Chartres. Our age may have summed itself up in the production of the atomic bomb.

If art is nothing else, it is form. Different ages have given different answers to the question of form. What is the place assigned to humans in artistic creation in medieval art and how is this done? There are some constants in art history--between the fifth century B.C. Athenian *Zeus* and Michelangelo's *David* there is a correspondence which tells us that these two artists viewed the society in which they were living in certain ways, and coming to terms with it, they summed it up in their work.

Through his sensibility, his calling, his mission, the artist presents to us, in concrete form, images of man and of the world that trigger our visual imagination, our visual intellect and sharpen our awareness of things around us, enabling us to enter into them through the sense of vision. The artist decodes experience, renders visible that decoding, and makes intelligible what he has decoded, so that our understanding and our enjoyment of art will operate on the many levels which our understanding, intellect, and sensibility may bring to the confrontation between a human and the work of art. The work of art, a world in itself, operates on many levels. Art becomes an instrument used by humanity to work out the myths that every age carries.

To use an analogy that an American poet has used, as music is feeling, not sound, so a work of art is always greater than the sum of its parts. A work of art has a logic of its own as does nature. We see the logic of art up to the point where that logic transcends logic in the form of a Greek tragedy, where we witness a man transcending his humanity, and becoming through that moment of self-knowledge greater than man. A tragedy has begun before Oedipus is on stage, but only he can begin and end the play.

Art is both an imitative and a re-creating act. Through various art forms there is imitation, calling to question whether the subject is real or ostensible. In a painting depicting the baptism of Christ, is immersion the real subject of the painting? The ostensible subject is man in water. The real subject may be regeneration. Man on a cross, the crucifixion, probably symbolizes self-sacrifice. A great deal of medieval art is symbolic.

The Late Classical statue of Hermes holding the infant Dionysos conforms to the Greek idea of the golden section, or perfect proportions that go into constituting a human, the sum of all the ideal parts. It is a kind of anthropometric approach which among Renaissance scientists and in the hands of the genius Michelangelo will be reevoked. The Greek statue is a Greek god. The Michelangelo *David* is a Biblical king-hero. This is the thread of myth that has persisted in Europe, that has caused local myths to be added onto other myth systems and onto the Christian religion. The question of what a human looks like in Early Christian art is more a matter of mass arrangement than a matter of anthropometrics. Take the theme of the Mother of God. Predictably as forms develop in complexity, the same content, Madonna and Child, is going to become queen holding a prince. While Byzantine forms remain with us in early Renaissance Italy, the form of the Madonna later moves more naturally into the question of the womanhood of the mother of God.

Another theme, winged creatures, arises out of Hellenistic art. The occurence of the winged creature in art is an old one, becoming a smiling angel at Reims in thirteenth century Gothic art. As winged devils have existed from Mesopotamia to Scandinavia, depicting either a benevolent or a malevolent creature (Satan is a fallen angel), we wonder about the common mythical core of all the great cultural systems. Upon entering a Romanesque church, we are confronted with a host of angels and devils almost at eye level. From the earth upward the struggle between body and soul is presented. The Medieval mind was obsessed with the dichotomy between body and soul, heaven and hell, angels and devils.

The Last Supper is another common theme in art. Is it people around a table, or is it something larger than that? A Frans Hals Dutch painting in the seventeenth century can be simply a feast of the guard. On the other hand, in the *Bayeux Tapestry*, which relates the events of the aftermath of 1066 when William the Conqueror, a descendant of barbarians, went from Normandy to conquer England, is a scene of a supper before the battle. Does this evoke a last supper? Perhaps in the designer's mind is the juxtaposition between life and death.

Great art is passion and vision and idea ground into form. Art always has to do with conflict in the human mind and heart, and in forms of the artist's own choosing. While the human condition can never be omitted from art, we seek to understand the changes of art forms in particular periods through particular languages of art which we call styles.

In the architecture of the Church of St. Stephen's, St. Etienne, Caen, in Normandy, which the Conqueror completed after 1066, the exterior arrangement of masses announces the interior. The three divisions of the facade announce the three divisions in the interior as well as the three divisions in the elevation. In this building light illuminates the interior as the one who said "I am the Light of the World" illuminates our lives. The numerous windows transmit light, a subject which is

paramount in Gothic architecture, in which the translucency of stained glass windows is symbolic of supernatural light. Meanwhile, in the South of France the Christian style, as exemplified by the facade of St. Trophime at Arles, follows the tradition of Greco-Roman art. Thus, in this area we are closer to Roman art in both architecture and sculpture. Christ, in the tympanum, is an echo of a seated Roman emperor. Later in Gothic art this evolution of form and sensibility will culminate in the depiction of a gentle, teaching Christ.

By the eleventh century the clash of traditions and amalgamation of beliefs produced a new kind of society in Europe containing the heritage of Greco-Roman antiquity, the orientalism of Christianity, and indigenous barbarian folklore. While Greek art, from which Roman art derived many forms, was heavily mathematical, there was almost no spatial mathematical tradition in the artistic concepts of the barbarians. Rather they made much use of their tradition of animal art and geometric patterns. Eventually the arts of the barbarians merged with ancient Near-Eastern heraldic art, known through textiles and portable art works, and with the figure tradition of the ever-present Greek world.

I. EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

For Early Christian art we must go to Syria, Egypt and Cappadocia, to sites mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, to Ephesus, Rome and Jerusalem. We must examine remnants and reconstructions of basilicas, baptisteries, martyria (cemeteries), and mausoleums.

In this chapter we shall examine the art of the Copts, the baptistery of St. John in Poitiers, the crypt at Jouarre, and the Visigothic basilica of S. Juan de Baños in northern Spain, monuments that have survived well.

The Copts are the Christianized Egyptians. They retained their Christianity even after the Moslems overran Egypt on their way through North Africa to Spain, and today they constitute a small Christian minority in the land of Egypt.

The interesting thing about the Copts in Egypt (Copt is a corruption of the word Egyptian in Arabic) is that they link the Greco-Roman heritage in the Near East with Early Christian art. Because Egypt is at the crossroads of the Mediterranean world, it had always borne great invading armies. Alexander, who named a city after himself in North Africa, had gone to the gates of India and left in Asia an art style which we call Greco-Buddhist or Gandharan that allies Hellenistic and Buddhist styles. The Copts in Egypt as early as the fourth century were developing a monastic way of life. "Monasticism" is an ascetic way of life lived according to the precepts of Christ who said, "If anyone take your coat, give him your cloak as well;" "Sell what you possess and give to the poor and come and follow me;" "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow, they neither toil nor spin; even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." As we have noted, creation of artifacts goes counter to the ascetic tenets of early Christianity. In the eastern part of Egypt across from the Sinai Peninsula is the monastery dedicated to St. Anthony of the Desert. Many early Christian saints were people of both great and small fortune who gave up everything they had in order to follow the teachings of Christ. Such a person was St. Martin of Tours, son of a Roman legionnaire, who in the iconography of the west, is shown on his horse giving his cloak to the beggar. St. Anthony of the Desert was the focal point of one of many monastic cults in the Near East. Unlike monasticism in the West which followed the didactic line, placing emphasis on study

and the copying of manuscripts, Eastern monasticism was more contemplative. Western monasticism eventually moved into the cities and performed social functions sometime between the period of the Benedictine order at its height and the Franciscan order at the time of the early Renaissance in Italy, while Eastern monasticism has generally retained its out-of-the-world attitude.

The Copts left a legacy of portraits in the Oasis of Fayum which is west of Cairo, west of the Pyramids. These portraits are dated around the second century. The appearance of indigenous portraiture by early Christians reinforces the link between antiquity and the Middle Ages. The image was preserved in the hands of the Copts in these very expressive portraits, heavily outlined, evoking later Spanish, Romanesque art. It is an art that suggests a kind of sadness, a state of mind almost, which in this world hopes for the next. But formally it continues the line of portraiture. There are also portraits of the dead placed originally on sarcophagi and panel paintings where the human form conforms more to mass arrangements than to linear or realistically representational designs. There is a logical connection between paintings on sarcophagi in the Alexandria Museum and the Fayum portraits.

Another phase of Early Christian art in the Christian west, south of the Loire valley, south of Paris, south of Tours, is in Poitiers, a great city of the Middle Ages, through which passed Eleanor of Aquitaine and her son, Richard the Lionhearted, who was knighted there. In the city of Poitiers are found vestiges of Roman walls and in the museum a Roman Minerva dated first century A.D. There are Roman influences on the crudely built baptistery which has a cruciform plan and which some archeologists of another generation called the earliest Christian building in Europe. Modern archeology gives it a seventh century date with perhaps fourth century foundations. Baptisteries, places where converts were baptized, were needed for mass conversions. The interior of the baptistery evokes Roman style. On the walls by the circular windows are frescoes, painted later, of life-size figures that might have replaced free-standing statuary within the Roman conception of decorating interiors. Designs on the pediments go back to Greek forms. In the same city there is a martyrium, or hypogeum, which is an underground burial place for martyrs. The emperor of Byzantium, Julian the Apostate, who attempted to bring classicism back into the empire, remarked sardonically that the Christians liked to be surrounded by dead people. In the martyrium are epigraphic descriptions that paleographers decoded, such as "Everything is going from bad to worse; things couldn't be worse, and the end of the world is at hand." Although there used to be many martyria in the Christian world, very few are left.

An early Christian building near Paris is the Abbey at Jouarre, an abbey that had a tradition of abbesses endowed by the great families of France. For Early Christian art the interesting part of this building is not the twelfth century tower but the crypt dedicated to St. Paul. A crypt in Greek means that which is hidden,

that which is underground. One of the vastest of the pilgrimage crypts was that of St. Eutrope at Saintes. At Jouarre we find sarcophagi or cenotaphs, which are sarcophagi from which the bodies were removed. The capitals on the columns are made of marble from the Pyrenees. They were chiseled probably during the seventh century in Paris by sculptors who had been influenced by Roman art. One cenotaph depicts the opening of the tombs at the Last Judgment with people opening the lids of the tombs and coming out. Stylistically the heads are in the serene tradition of the Coptic portraits. Another remarkable thing about the crypt of Jouarre is the tile mosaic of the wall where there is a mixture of square, lozenge, and octagonal designs in geometric arrangement.

In Spain Early Christian art is exemplified by the Basilica of San Juan de Baños. It is a basilica built by the Visigoths who, having been Christianized, espoused the Arian doctrine which raised the question about the co-equalness of the substance of Christ with the Father. They settled in Spain where they were about to develop a brilliant civilization when they were supplanted by the Arabs. In 661 a Visigothic king dedicated this basilica to St. John the Baptist. There is an inscription inside in crude Latin indicating that Visigothic architects brought knowledge from Italy. Here they used the horseshoe arch which is typical of Islamic architecture but which is not often found in Christian architecture. The front part of the building is entered through a porch, and the division of the interior is in terms of bays with squinches supporting the dome. The building has serpentine friezes, flowing designs evoking the abstract quality of barbarian art, as well as a great latticed window in the eastern part of the building.

II. BYZANTINE ART

In terms of chronology Byzantine art of the sixth century is also Early Christian art. Its flourishing coincides with the consolidation of the Christian world's power in Constantinople. For a complete view of the thousand-year history of Byzantine art, we should also go to the Greek islands in the Aegean, to Crete and Cyprus, to all sorts of places in Italy, and to the Slavic east. We shall examine Byzantine art primarily in Constantinople, Attica, and Ravenna.

First, there had to be doctrinal formalization by the Christian church. By the sixth century theological ideas had been shrewdly institutionalized, sometime between the period of the Council of Nicea in the fourth century and the Council of Chalcedon in the fifth. Church dogma in both the Eastern and Roman components of the Christian religion has remained fairly stable ever since. Christians still recite the Nicean Creed which established the Trinity, asserting the co-substance of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. By the time of Justinian, lawgiver and builder, in the sixth century the roles of the church and the emperor were defined. The great symbol of the empire was the double-headed eagle, two heads on one body. The echo of Christ on earth was the emperor whose life in Constantinople paralleled the life of Christ and whose artistic undertakings paralleled the creation. As God was in his heaven, so the emperor was in his city. And yet, the emperor was always considered mortal and responsible and never ruled by absolute divine right, a concept that conflicted with later ideas about divine right in the Latin Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the seventeenth century.

The Byzantine Empire saved Christianity from the onslaught of the Slavs, the later barbarian invaders, and finally the Turks. Gibbon, the great historian writing in the eighteenth century, castigated the idea of Byzantium, seeing its achievements through the progressive eyes of the Enlightenment. Gibbon thought that for a thousand years the Byzantine Empire produced no speculative thought and that it did nothing to promote the dignity or happiness of mankind. Today we take a wider view of its accomplishments, some of which were to preserve not only the Christian ideal but to parallel it, indeed to couple it, with Asiatic ideas (since many of the Byzantine emperors were part

Roman, part Greek, part Oriental), to Christianize the Slavic East, to turn Constantinople into a repository for Greek learning, to preserve art, to preserve literature, to build monumental architecture, and indirectly to catalyze the early Renaissance in Italy where Byzantine art abounded. Hagia Sophia, which was inspired by Rome and completed in six years, has a great dome which is a hundred and eighty feet high, and a long axis of over two-hundred and fifty feet. The plan plays this vertical axis against a horizontal axis, creating illusions of space. The exterior does not announce the interior but the space inside explodes with solids seeming to become fluids against glittering mosaics, everything working through the opening spaces to trigger the imagination. It becomes a lattice type of architecture under this gigantic dome, transporting the eye to rich marbles so carefully selected that the veins match. The empire was looted for its most precious materials to build this great church. The dome is pierced at the base by forty-four windows, subtle openings allowing the light to highlight the mosaics that covered the church. There is a late tenth-century mosaic in the narthex of Hagia Sophia depicting Justinian to the right of the Theotokos (Mother of God), offering her a model of the church, while to her left Constantine the Great is carrying the model of the city as an offering. The domed building and the square city may be symbolic of the circle of heaven and the square of the earth, thus compounding the meaning of the gestures as we are about to enter the church. Standing opposite Hagia Sophia is the Mosque of Ahmet I, built in the seventeenth century, which shows the tremendous impact of the centralized dome idea of construction for which Hagia Sophia becomes the prototype in aspects of Islamic architecture and various architectural styles in the Christian west in the Middle Ages.

When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, ten thousand Greeks were in the church praying for a miracle as they had always prayed for miracles to the icons, which are panel paintings, carried many times in ceremonies of orthodox churches both in Russia and Byzantine lands. We imagine the Emperor in procession accompanied by the Patriarch on the day of the dedication when Justinian exclaimed, "Solomon, I have outdone thee," a snide remark indicating that Solomon and the temple are a parenthesis in Byzantium's historical view, the Byzantines being the heirs of a Christianity that had existed before Judaism. Their passion for theological reasoning is demonstrated by funny eye-witness stories told by a traveler in Constantinople in the sixth century who, bombarded by theological arguments everywhere, tells that when he bought some bread and asked "How much does this cost?" he was told, "The son is not the same as the father"; when he asked, "Is my bath ready?" he was told, "Is the father the same as the son?" It is a kind of theological double-talk impregnating the minds of the people and causing them to live almost constantly in a supercharged religious state.

One of the ironies of history is that as the adulation of the Virgin Mary was reaching great heights in the west and precisely in 1204 the Crusaders looted Hagia Sophia, which is also dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

The plaques in Arabic calligraphy (Allah, Mohammed) were hung and the minarets added by the Turks. The Christ in the dome was replaced by a circle of Koranic verses. The pendentives provide the transition from the dome to the supporting piers. In the pendentives are six-winged seraphims giving vertical thrust and leading to the dome, simulating a kind of heaven. To the Byzantines these complex shiftings of physical planes into spiritual planes were part of reality. The Byzantines did not worship icons but rather sought the other world through them. One of the most famous later mosaics is the Deësis mosaic in the gallery of Hagia Sophia which is now being restored. The standard positioning of the figures has Christ in the middle, his mother on his right, and John the Baptist, the Forerunner who announced the coming of Christ, on his left. "Mother of God" is abbreviated in Greek on either side of Mary, her blue mantle against the gold. Gold was the most precious possession believers could offer under this high concept of the celestial city, setting the figures in an incorporeal atmosphere, not in a landscape. They are real and they are not real. The landscape would have given them a temporal, physical dimension.

Hagia Sophia is the general prototype of a number of churches, including St. Mark's in Venice where the centrally-domed idea was elaborated through a cruciform floor plan under five domes, one over the center and one on each arm. The central dome of St. Mark's is less than half the diameter of Hagia Sophia, giving us some idea of the magnitude of that dazzling structure. St. Front of Périgueux, a twelfth-century French Romanesque building in Aquitaine was influenced by St. Mark's as St. Mark's was probably based on a cruciform and centrally-domed church in Constantinople, the Holy Apostles, no longer in existence.

Outside of Athens on the road to Eleusis at the monastery of Daphne, meaning laurel, founded sometime in the sixth century, are mosaics created in the eleventh century. The occupation of the church by a Cistercian order during the thirteenth century accounts for the cloister. Against the landscape in the distance we see classical columns and capitals. In the squinches of the great dome there are scenes of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Baptism of Christ, and the Transfiguration (reminiscent of the mosaic of the Transfiguration at St. Catherine's monastery on Mt. Sinai where God handed the tablets to Moses). In the narthex before we enter the church there is a scene of the Crucifixion, and as soon as we are in the interior our eyes are almost magnetically drawn to the great Pantocrator, the Almighty. His essence is captured by the great Greek writer, Nikos Kazantzakis in *The Greek Passion:*

> The church was balmy with wax and incense...the icons gleamed softly; the walls...were illuminated with saints and angels' wings of many colors. Going into this ancient Byzantine church was like losing oneself in a Paradise full of fantastic birds and of flowers, the height of man, with angels like gigantic bees flying from flower to flower...At the high point of the vault, fierce and menacing, the Almighty sat throned over the heads of mankind.

The most important location for Byzantine art in Italy is Ravenna, a city not far from Venice on the Adriatic which governed the Byzantine fleet operations in the Mediterranean during the sixth century. In Ravenna, which had been ravaged and then settled by the Christianized Goths, are literal Gothic buildings and a mausoleum built in the late fifth century for Galla Placidia, the Christian sister and daughter of emperors. In this cruciform building which is topped by a square tower that conceals a dome are found some of the most splendid mosaics ever made, among them *Christ as the Good Shepherd*, looking like a beardless young hero. Opposite the Christ is depicted the martyrdom of St. Lawrence who is advancing with determination to a flaming grate. Everywhere on the wall spaces are abstract geometric patterns--mosaics of stags with intricate interlaced motifs, symmetrical birds doubling as spirits, Greek motifs. There is a cross on the dome without a Christ, suggesting the elevation of the soul to the other heaven through stars whose patterns are serialized, as in the Van Gogh painting, the *Starry Night*, perhaps symbolic of a state of soul.

On the dome of another building in Ravenna, the Baptistery of the Orthodox which was constructed on an octagonal plan, is a baptism. Here we have the Christ of the Orthodox, because the Arian heresy adopted by many barbarians, such as the Visigoths, maintained that Christ was not co-equal with the Father. Even though the controversy had been settled by church councils, the Christianized barbarians took ideas that were close to their own political systems. In the Baptistery of the Arians also in Ravenna Christ will be a young hero, not the wise old-young man of the Orthodox. In both baptisteries the personification of the river Jordan and the landscape are reminiscent of late antique art.

One example of several great orthodox churches in Ravenna which were built to counterbalance the Arianism of the Goths is San Vitale, the most important centralized building in this area, begun before Justinian, but finished by him. San Vitale was based on an octagonal plan, an octagon inside an octagon, with arched elevations and mosaic-covered walls as well as very intricate capitals such as the ones in Hagia Sophia. The heaven of the great dome, which is deceptively light due to an understructure of clay, glows through the gold of the mosaics with the symbolic lamb at its center.

By the eighth century Byzantine art will come to grips with the iconoclastic controversy over monumental figurative representation of holy personages. Along with this, the representation of animals will be debated, although generally in the sixth century the esthetic is still in a fluid state. Inside San Vitale we view the half dome of the apse through columns of great beauty which combine geometric designs with animal carvings that depend on the play of light for depth. Although we do not see yet the development of a bestiary theory as in Romanesque later on, these forms come from Hellenistic art in the East, and parallel the Christian image of the creation of the world. The new Jerusalem, where the lion will lie down with the lamb, admits animal

imagery, with all of God's creatures living in a peaceable kingdom or paradise. As the animals of the tetramorph are given a naturalistic depiction, we once more note an assertion of the realism of Hellenistic art which was reinforced through the sixth-century tradition of workshops in a church heavily subsidized by Justinian.

In the curvature of the apse Christ dominates the scene, sitting over a kind of globe of the world and handing the crown to San Vitale himself through an angel on his right. To Christ's left is St. Ecclesius, who was responsible for the building program. A scene at the upper arc of the windows to the right hand of Christ is the retinue of Justinian, the great Emperor himself, who will now appear in the Holy of Holies, carrying the paten of the Eucharist to hold the bread. In a very tightly designed scene with ecclesiastics on one side and military people on the other, Justinian dominates. The scene is frontal, indicating the frontality of Byzantine art working through the illusionism of the curvatures of space that later on will influence young Byzantine El Greco, as he will go from the island of Crete to Italy and then to Spain. From a design point of view, that huge shield breaks up the elongated horizontality of the scene, as the scene defies perspective. The Byzantines hint at their knowledge of perspective through subtle ways. If we notice the placing of the feet, Justinian is virtually on the toes of someone else, who must be behind him being of lesser rank than he. Perhaps behind Justinian is the banker who lent some of the money for the building and next to him stands the archbishop Maximian, whose name appears in letters above his head while the Emperor's name does not appear suggesting that possibly Maximian had just been appointed to this rank. On the opposite wall is his Queen Theodora, the daughter, we are told, of a lion tamer at the circus, or hippodrome, in Constantinople. The point is that in this very vital empire Justinian, who is virtually a nobody, can raise himself through intellect and passion to the emperorship. And so can Theodora, who attended by her ladies is carrying the chalice for the wine of the communion. There is something theatrical about all this. Wallace Stevens writes: "Soon with noise like tambourines, came her attendant Byzantines." The pomp, the elegance, the luxury, the Oriental ostentation are here. An attendant raises the curtain for the procession to move into the church to commune. All the world's a stage, but perhaps every stage is also a world. The procession begins with this re-enactment of the holy ceremony. Is Theodora, with her jewels, a Roman empress or is she a Greco-Roman-Oriental queen? If we move to the Archiepiscopal Museum of Ravenna we can see Maximian's life-size ivory throne, whose panels depicting standard New Testament scenes such as the Nativity as well as full-length holy persons in niches, greatly influenced Medieval art.

Another great church in Ravenna is S. Apollinare Nuovo, built in memory of the first missionary in the area. It is on the basilican plan with three aisles, evoking Roman architecture. On the registers of the left wall is a procession of women saints moving toward the Virgin and Child, while on the opposite wall male saints are proceeding toward the

Christ. Above them is a sequence of New Testament events separated and highlighted by floral or animal designs. In the procession toward the Child are the Magi, whose movements seem animated as though they are running. The cycle on the upper left wall begins with the cityscape of Ravenna with its ships in water providing vertical perspective. We see Christ calling the disciples and the raising of Lazarus, demonstrating the idea of resurrection which is very strongly imbedded in Orthodoxy. On the opposite wall is the procession toward Christ, with events of the Passion: a magnificent semi-circular Last Supper and the kiss of Judas highlighting the drama.

The church of S. Apollinare in Classe outside of Ravenna was built somewhat later, again on the basilican plan, where the main interest is the apse mosaic with a gigantic cross dominating the curved space. The landscape in the foreground suggests a paradise on earth, through a great expanse of mosaic, in which next to the saint are some very beautiful floral, vegetational motifs. Above the triumphal arch and over curved palm trees of great delicacy Christ is surrounded by symbols of the evangelists, who are winged as Ezekiel said they might be.

Such was the Empire that dominated Europe and the imagination from the fourth century to the fifteenth. The quote from Kazantzakis indicates the survival of Byzantium in the Greek mentality. He goes to the heart of things. You can imagine the reduction in scale of Hagia Sophia so that the thrusting seraphims might be likened to bees. He uses the name The Almighty rather than God or Christ, because while within the Eastern rite they can be identical, he is stressing the idea of the "Prime Mover" allied with Jehovah. To acquire a feeling for Byzantium we turn not only to the great modern Greek novelists and poets, but also to non-Greeks who write in the myth tradition. One of them, William Butler Yeats, gives a most brilliant view of Byzantium in his poem, *Sailing to Byzantium.*

I.

That is no country for old men. The young
In one another's arms, birds in the trees
--Those dying generations--at their song,
The salmon-falls, the mackerel-crowded seas,
Fish, flesh, or fowl, commend all summer long
Whatever is begotten, born, and dies.
Caught in that sensual music all neglect
Monuments of unageing intellect.

II.

An aged man is but a paltry thing,
A tattered coat upon a stick, unless
Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
For every tatter in its mortal dress,
Nor is there singing school but studying
Monuments of its own magnificence;
And therefore I have sailed the seas and come
To the holy city of Byzantium.

III.

O sages standing in God's holy fire
As in the gold mosaic of a wall,
Come from the holy fire, perne in a gyre,
And be the singing-masters of my soul.
Consume my heart away; sick with desire
And fastened to a dying animal
It knows not what it is; and gather me
Into the artifice of eternity.

IV.

Once out of nature I shall never take
My bodily form from any natural thing,
But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make
Of hammered gold and gold enamelling
To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
Or set upon a golden bough to sing
To lords and ladies of Byzantium
Of what is past, or passing, or to come.

III. CAROLINGIAN AND ISLAMIC ART

While the Mediterranean character of classical civilization was being confirmed by Byzantium, two new powers arose to the west of it and to the south of it, powers that were destined to clash and mark the evolution of the medieval world: the Germans and the Arabs. The classical tradition which seemed to have been sheltered by the Byzantine Greeks was to be shattered and reassembled.

The German ancestors of Charlemagne, awed by Rome, had prepared the way for him, and the synthesis of the arts of the west in his reign produced a glittering civilization that filtered the Roman tradition through the Germanic past. Charlemagne was crowned emperor on Christmas Day in the year 800. He had built many palaces, and part of one, the Palatine chapel, remains in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). It is an octagon inspired by Ravenna. In spite of the unimpressive exterior, the interior is quite splendid. The niches of Ravenna were flattened out, the plan is once again an octagon within an octagon, while the elevation from strong piers to lighter columns admits light. Charlemagne sent to Ravenna for marble slabs and capitals that he put into place. Once again the organization of the interior space became a kind of tracery. The interior of the Palatine chapel at Aachen elicits the same feeling as the interior of San Vitale, but those complex cycles of mosaics have disappeared and the color alternation of stone is striking.

But perhaps Charlemagne's most lasting contribution was that intellectual upheaval by way of the manuscripts. Since we do not know much about the architecture, the collection and creation of manuscripts is the most solid achievement of the Carolingian Renaissance. Through these we know that the Olympian gods and secular knowledge were to be preserved in the West and amalgamated into the fabric of thought throughout the medieval period which finally culminated in the fantastic cultural and artistic explosion of the fifteenth century known as the Italian Renaissance.

For an example of a non-imperial Carolingian ecclesiastical building we go to St. Philibert-de-Grandlieu near Nantes. The three-aisled, timber-covered building has rectangular piers in the nave with alternating stone and brick work. The thickness of the walls is apparent in the small window openings. Erected in 819, the church was pillaged by

the Normans in 847. In two hundred years the same Normans will be invading England under the Pope's banner.

The word "Islam" means submission. Born on the Arabian Peninsula in the area around Yemen during the sixth century, it is another monotheistic religion coming out of the Middle East six centuries after the birth of the Christian religion and taking some of its theories from both the Old and the New Testaments. Christ was considered a major prophet, while Mohammed thought of himself as a kind of John the Baptist and St. Michael. When his death occurred in 632, a split between the Persian and the Arabian sects took place. By 661 the Caliphate appeared in Damascus and from there militant apostles to this new religion carried their acts with unbelievable speed through North Africa into Europe, pushing the Europeans to the north and to the eastern Mediterranean. If they had not been defeated in 732 at Poitiers by Charles Martel, medieval civilization might have worshipped Allah.

The influence of Islam on art made its way gradually into Western Europe through trade contacts and through political presence in Spain from the eighth century on and in Sicily and southwest France from the ninth century on. From the Great Mosque in Damascus, where glass mosaics echo illusionistic elements of Pompeii, to Cordova and Granada, some old questions were being raised again. Would the architects of Islam build mosques after Roman basilican ideas which abounded in the Middle East and North Africa, or would they use Byzantine-domed plans? They used all plans to effect their own brilliant synthesis, elaborating on the minaret-tower first adopted by Christians in Syria.

As the icon question was being hotly debated in Byzantium, Islam developed a non-iconic art. Iconoclasm implied destruction of monumental figurative art forms, whereas in the absence of an art tradition, and faithful to its Old Testament connections, Islam avoided monumental human or divine forms. The Moslems invented their own designs using the curvilinear Arabic calligraphy and the more angular Kufic script in designs that they blended into architecture and minature painting. An Islamic monument, especially a mosque, makes a statement of authority and peace through the horizontal perspective of its arcades and the almost hypnotic repetition of its decorative motifs.

In the Persian orbit of the Islamic religion, while art did not shun calligraphy, it was closer to Greco-Buddhist art. There it produced manuscripts employing human and animal figures as well as landscape scenes with shadowless forms.

It was as if Islamic design echoed rhythms of natural phenomena without an attempt to concretize them. Thus even interior space, devoid of symbol in Islamic architecture, is remarkably serene, evoking perhaps the unending desert broken by the arcs and jags of rustling palm trees. Here the abstraction hints at the idea of a Divinity that is present through its absence.

IV. ROMANESQUE ART: NORMANDY, NORTHWEST EUROPE, ITALY

Romanesque art is the first monumental style of Christian civilization. Initially deriving inspiration from Roman basilican plans, it soon developed new spatial and constructional arrangements, resulting in an architecture which related the communion of the faithful to architectural elements--portals, naves, side aisles, altars--and marked stone space with narrative messages through sculptures and paintings. The notion that "Romanesque" is a style that derives from Roman art is misleading. Rather, it is a style that attempts a synthesis of styles, depending on geographic regions, between a number of intermediary art styles: Early Christian, Lombard, Merovingian, Visigothic, Carolingian, Islamic. We situate this achievement in architecture between the years 1000 and 1200. There is a famous passage by Raul Glaber (985-1046), a Cluniac monk that describes the beginnings of this building fervor:

> Therefore, after the above-mentioned year of the millennium which is now about three years past, there occurred, throughout the world, especially in Italy and Gaul, a rebuilding of church basilicas. Notwithstanding the greater number were already well established and not in the least in need, nevertheless each Christian people strove against the others to erect nobler ones. It was as if the whole earth, having cast off the old by shaking itself, were clothing itself everywhere in the white robe of the church. Then, at last, all the faithful altered completely most of the episcopal seats for the better, and likewise, the monasteries of the various saints as well as the lesser places of prayer in the towns...

To maintain that the Christian world's anguish over the approaching millennium precipitated this vast building activity is false. Glaber's passage assesses, through a poetic statement, the religious, economic and social forces that gave Christianity its first international aspect. Thus Romanesque culture combined with local building knowledge, as well as local building materials, to give the Romanesque style regional variations.

In the early eleventh century, in spite of these geographic variants, we note similarities between St. Etienne in Caen (1064-1087), Speyer I, S. Miniato in Florence, and Pisa. The church of William the Conqueror at Caen developed an elevation that existed at Jumièges. The

Benedictine order of Cluny in Burgundy through the stages of its great church was pivotal in supporting the development of architecture. Cluny I and Cluny II had been exposed to influences from the major building trends in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Groin vaulting at Durham before the end of the eleventh century completed the spatial unification for which early Romanesque strived. There had been experimental high vaulting at St. Philibert of Tournus near Cluny in Burgundy through the use of transverse barrel vaults buttressed by groin-vaulted side aisles. This brilliant and original system was repeated only once.

Mont St. Michel in Normandy, a starting point for the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, was founded in the tenth century and contains a Carolingian crypt. The interior elevation in three stages marks it as a Norman-Romanesque building and its dramatic topography highlights the substance of the archangel.

The foundations of the Abbey at Jumièges, now in ruins, date before 1066, the year of the great invasion of England, when William the Conqueror of Norman descent united the Frankish world with the Anglo-Saxon world, the Romance world with the Northern world. The towers at Jumièges move into the church facade, a feature of regional architecture in Romanesque. The abbey was consecrated in 1067 in the presence of the Conqueror. It hints at Romanesque construction in Normandy, which will greatly influence Anglo-Norman architecture in England. Walking through the empty spaces of the ruined abbey a student of architecture can see the elevation and how elements were put together.

We have mentioned St. Etienne, St. Stephen's, Caen, which was completed shortly after 1066 and very quickly imposed itself as a great presence in architecture. The three outside portals, with the central one larger than the two others, announce the spatial organization of the interior, the nave being flanked by two side aisles. At ground level our eyes move up to the two windows above the two lateral portals on either side suggesting a three-story elevation. With tripartite division horizontally and vertically, the six windows in the center block harmonize perfectly, puncturing that space and announcing the disposition and flow of space from entrance to transept. There are two giant towers, the higher of the two spanning 269 feet from ground to pinnacle. The total length of the abbey is 361 feet with the height of the front up to the gable about 90 feet. The view from the east, from the apse, shows a profusion of towers, including the Romanesque tower at the crossing. The apse was heavily modified in the Gothic period. The presence of frontal towers, which are identified with Gothic, is a feature of Norman architecture and some other regional styles in Romanesque. Yet St. Stephen's abbey hints at the development of Gothic in other ways also. The interior elevation of this well-lit massive church is in three stages with bay arcades, the triforium gallery, and the clerestory. The vaulting at the clerestory was modified after the Romanesque part of the church was completed, since most early churches, such as Philibert-de-Grandlieu, were timber-roofed and susceptible to fire, so that a system of stone vaulting was devised. Stone vaulting used thinner construction and internal flying buttresses. Later Gothic

used flyers externally, scooping out massive walls and replacing them with windows between the buttressing supports. At Caen the strong piers at the crossing support the huge crossing tower. The capital sculpture is timid, almost archaic, but soon will develop quite rapidly.

In Speyer West Germany, part of the Rhineland, is the Imperial Cathedral, which also served as the burial place of the Frankonian dynasty of Holy German Emperors, and which was started in 1024. Immediately we notice that there are two groups of towers east and west. These gigantic towers going up on both ends of the great cathedral will influence the cathedral at Tournai in Belgium. St. Léger, Murbach, and St. Etienne, Marmoutier in Alsace, constitute good examples of church porches in the Carolingian tradition and the grandiose proportions of the various square masses make us think of Speyer. The Imperial Cathedral is a monument to the glory of Emperor Henry IV who undertook to enlarge it in 1083-84. St. Michael's of Hildesheim with its bronze doors was constructed in an earlier phase of the empire, during the Ottonian Renaissance of Germany, when from the tenth to the eleventh centuries Germany was the greatest and most inspired power in Europe, reinforcing the trust of the Germanic Carolingian Renaissance and pushing it to its limits by the construction of great buildings. The nave of Speyer, an imposing Roman-Lombardian-like construction is 354 feet long and 45 feet wide, pushing toward a geight of a hundred feet. In this simply decorated building, to which the paintings were added later, we see once again the clarity of the vertical elevation, the exterior echoing the interior with large clerestory windows admitting great light over these unified spaces.

There are also twelfth to thirteenth century Norwegian Romanesque stave churches, the irony being that as the Normans were building with great genius by the eleventh century, the places of their origin were erecting simple timber churches that have little affinity to the great monuments of the West in England, France and Germany, but which contain more complex forms inside than the outside might reveal.

The cathedral at Durham in England, begun in 1093, is therefore quite a bit later than St. Stephen's Caen and owes a fair amount of inspiration to French Norman architecture. Again the plan is cruciform with the nave containing alternating cylindrical piers boldly marked with fluting and chevron work.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge is a circular church, one of four cylindrical churches in England, and echoes the influence of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem especially after the First Crusade. It was begun in the year 1130 by the Knights Templar, the order that was founded in 1118 to protect pilgrims as they moved to the Holy Land. Eight massive Norman pillars support the vaulting of this little church.

S. Miniato al Monte in Florence which was finished by 1062 is a basilican-type church that has deceptive connections with Romanesque in Normandy. Although the back which is a graveyard is not very impressive, the facade has regularized classicized divisions with marble sheathing so prevalent in Italy.

The Leaning Tower of Pisa recalls the idea of Ravenna towers but has arcaded galleries weaving themselves into the structure of this beautiful complex of buildings. The cathedral, begun in 1063, has arcaded tiers and geometrical classical organization on its facade. The tower, which began to lean immediately after completion due to faulty foundations, is veering off axis at about thirteen feet. Another important component of this magnificient group of buildings is the baptistery which evokes the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Pisans were the great traders of the Crusades and along with the Genoese and the Venetians transported the Crusaders as they came from all parts of Europe, using Italy and Rome as a connection on their journey to the Holy Land. The first Crusade went by way of Constantinople, proceeding through Asia Minor to Jerusalem, but the second Crusade was disastrous since the westerners thought that the emperor of Byzantium was against them, afraid of these movements of people through his land. The Third Crusade reflected great unanimity among the Christians, while the infamy of the Fourth Crusade has already been described.

V. THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

The *Bayeux Tapestry*, which is not a tapestry since it is not woven but embroidered, was commissioned for the Cathedral of Bayeux where William the Conqueror's half-brother, Otto or Odo, was bishop. An ambitious man, he endowed the cathedral and later fell from power for conspiring to buy the papacy. The wife of William the Conqueror, Queen Mathilda, may have commissioned the tapestry, and hence the name also given it is Queen Mathilda's Tapestry. The vast cartoon-like sequence of the embroidery, 200 feet by 1 1/2 feet, contains 626 persons, 202 horses or mules, 55 dogs, 505 animals of all kinds, 37 buildings, 41 ships, and 49 trees. It may have been an attempt by William to issue a white paper exonerating himself from the war of conquest after the events of 1066, even though the war was conducted under the Pope's banner, and since he was going on a "crusade," according to the value system at that time his hands were clean. The embroidery may have been done by a workshop of Kentish seamstresses brought to the Continent for this purpose. It provides us with the richest visual source for understanding the chivalric code of that time as well as a record of the costumes of the period. This piece of linen, which was embroidered with eight different colors of wool thread (the three basic ones being red, blue, and yellow), has lasted for almost a thousand years, having been provided with a backing in the eighteenth century. It is ironic that it was saved by Von Choltitz, the Wehrmacht general of *Is Paris Burning?* fame, who agreed to take it by truck to the Louvre where it was locked in the vaults until after the war when it was unveiled and exhibited in Paris, and then brought back to Bayeux. Before we examine the sections of the tapestry we should note the special features of the Bayeux cathedral in order to expand our knowledge of Romanesque in Normandy. In the interior are wonderful bays at the first stage, where we see geometric sculptural decoration which reminds us of the fine chiseling of Hagia Sophia. In a spandrel is a bishop in almost primitive or archaic style, while in a basilisk, a malevolent half-cock, half-serpent creature, we see the usual complex animal symbolism.

The Tapestry begins with King Edward the Confessor, advanced in years, planning to dispatch Harold, himself interested in the kingship, to the Continent to offer the English throne to William, related to the king distantly, and who had been hospitable to him during his exile in

France before he assumed the throne. The king, seated on his throne in Westminister, sceptre in hand, is sending Harold to France. By asking Harold to take the message he will force him, according to chivalric code, to renounce his claim to the throne. Wearing a short coat which is reminiscent of Grecian design, Harold journeys to the coast of Sussex with a falcon attached to his wrist. At the feast in Harold's honor the people are drinking from bullhorns used as goblets. As they advance toward a ship carrying their dogs and their falcons they are holding up their clothing in a scene indicating the transparent perspective of Byzantine art. In the narrow peripheral bands of the tapestry is animal life, evoking the bi-corporeal, symmetrical Romanesque design which also appears in sculpture, demonstrating the cross-influences of manuscripts, sculptures, and tapestry. A seaman ready to throw the anchor advances the logic of the narrative by posing the question of how the local people will receive the strangers who are stranded by the tides. Guy, the French Count on whose land they appear, is not happy to see the English ships and according to shipwreck law he is authorized to arrest them. Harold is brought by Count Guy to his castle, both of them with falcons on their wrists signifying that they are both knights, although Harold, who is riding behind the Norman count, has been disarmed. The very powerful duke of this region, William, is informed immediately by one of his many spies whom we also can see in this section. Also in the lower band are farmers, food, and cattle of the very rich land in Normandy. A small figure is Turoldus, sometimes associated with writing the *Song of Roland*, but who is probably a courtier.

In chivalric fashion Duke William sends emissaries to plead for the release of Harold, and because Count Guy does not cooperate he includes two horsemen who threaten the Count in the name of William. We notice the wild boar which has been placed below the horses, suggestive of a hunt. Count Guy, followed by Harold, finally meets Duke William at the Seine and from there they go to William's palace in the great city of Rouen, capital of Normandy. The palace has seventeen arches supporting the roof topped by a peacock and has armed guards surrounding it. Calculating William decides to visit Mont St. Michel which we see on a hill in the distance, in order to receive the abbot's blessing. The party is caught in quicksand and Harold, showing knightly courage, rescues two soldiers and carries them on his back while the horses are sinking in the sand. In the lower band is the sub-theme of eels and other animal life, real and imaginary. As they proceed on to Brittany, which is the province adjoining Normandy, William decides to burn down a castle. At this point we see a cityscape with moat and pont-levis, as the Norman soldiers burn down the castle, forcing the Count to surrender, depicted by the handing over of the keys from the ramparts to William who receives them. The drama of the story is building as we have seen William being blessed at Mont St. Michel and having checked Brittany, while Harold has acted with great courage in saving lives. When they return to the palace William insists that Harold take the oath of fidelity, since according to the chivalric code there is no greater crime than breaking one's word. The oath is taken with Harold facing a seated William with one hand on the altar and the other on a reliquary housing precious remains. If Harold breaks his commitment to William he has transgressed and William would therefore be justified in invading England.

The drama continues as Harold returns to England to find Edward the Confessor very ill but wanting to hear of Harold's trip to the Continent. We see Harold hunched over as though guilty of selfish interest. The following section inverts the sequence of events by showing the funeral of Edward with the hand of God hovering over the procession before the next frame which returns to the death scene. In the funeral procession the people are moving toward Westminister, which was dedicated just before the death of Edward. Next we have two scenes, one in which the wife of the King is weeping at her husband's deathbed, and the other with the King dead in a beautiful purple gown. Meanwhile a kind of proto-Parliament offers the crown to Harold, but next to the sceptre is the Archbishop of Canterbury (who has been disgraced by the Pope) watching the proceedings. This situation gives further claim to William who with Canterbury disgraced has the Pope on his side. Meanwhile as though nature itself were conspiring against the man who has broken his oath, a comet appears in the sky indicating the fear which people at that time held for any unusual natural phenomenon. Because of this omen, which astronomy tells us was Halley's comet occuring sometime between the 24th and the 30th of April in 1066, somebody rushes to tell Harold.

At the same time the spies of Duke William have sent messengers to him in Normandy where he is already cutting down trees to build his fleet to accomplish what Napoleon and Hitler failed. William hauls his ships by ropes to the water and every detail--the supplies, lances, swords, chain-mail, so heavy that two men must carry it, and even wine casks--are depicted. William, whose volunteer army has been estimated at about 5,000 men, sails to England in his royal ship over which is a cross indicating that it is a "crusader's" ship with the banner of the Pope. The following sequence shows the landing and preparation for a feast at which they barbecue meats before the battle. The scene is presided over by Bishop Odo who is not allowed to shed blood, but can club the enemy, and who eats fish while the others eat chicken and meat. In the next very moving scene near Hastings William burns down a house which is obstructing his view of the battlefield, and from the house come a woman and child, reminding us of the unprotected in war. As they move north of Hastings the cavalry is supported by archers whose bows can throw along a trajectory of almost three hundred feet. In the mounting suspense the English throw up a wall of shields, resisting the attack. As the Saxons resist we witness a fierce battle with the bands on the periphery containing bodies as though carrying on the main action. Through calligraphy the fallen are honored, both French and English. At the height of the battle the Norman cavalry is pushed back with the horses upended and strewn all over the battlefield. But then comes the pivotal point when the Normans return to push back Harold's knights, who can be identified by their mustaches. After Harold is struck through the eye and is going to die the way to London is open.

Thus on October 14, 1066, at the head of a young continental army, William, known as the Bastard but by evening as the Conqueror, had announced to the Christian world that Justinian and Charlemagne had found a successor. He was crowned in Westminister on Christmas Day.

VI. ROMANESQUE: POITOU

On the way from Paris to Bordeaux and the Pyrenees we reach Poitiers. One of the churches in the city, St. Hilary's, is based on a cruciform plan under a succession of domes and was a pilgrimage church begun in 1049. Inside the church is a capital of the death of St. Hilary, the lower part depicting him as dead, the upper register showing him being lifted to heaven by angels, highlighting the placing of simultaneous action into one space, characteristic of Romanesque art. Another beautiful capital from St. Hilary's, depicting life in the fields, is in the museum of Poitiers. In a constant interplay of vice, virtue, quarrel, pacification, we see two people pulling each other's beards, fighting, and then making up in an embrace.

The church built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that seems to dominate the city is Notre-Dame-la-Grande, so named to distinguish it from the smaller Notre-Dame churches. Here we see something entirely different in the sculpted facade, an illuminated page turned into stone. The facade is low compared to the elevation of the bell tower that is composed of three stages capped by a spire on a cylinder which rests on a cube, evoking Roman mausoleums. There is no transept in this church and the division of the facade is on the modular basis, the module being the round arch on both levels of the facade. There are three portals on the ground level, two of which are blind, and a giant window. On the pediment or gable, which is a triangle inside a triangle, we can see a mandorla and a badly mutilated Ascending Christ with representations of the sun and moon above his head projecting the idea of the universe hovering about the church. The south and north walls of the church have Renaissance chapel additions, destroying the rhythm of the building. In the frontal arcades have been placed the apostles, the top row containing those standing and the bottom those sitting, balancing the whole symmetrically. These defaced statues remind us once again of the religious wars conducted with such fervor. One of those in good preservation is Peter with a key. Besides the twelve apostles are two bishops who are probably local missionaries, one of them St. Martin of Tours and the other St. Hilary, the most famous local saint.

The greatest achievement among the sculptures of this paraliturgical facade is the frieze above the portals which begins with the

Fall and ends with the birth of the Child. The pollution which has darkened the limestone causes stone disease in many European buildings to the point of complete deterioration. Beginning the narrative of the frieze is Adam and Eve separated by a tree on which is the Serpent. Next to Eve is sitting a hieratic figure which one might mistake for a seated Christ, although this would be out of sequence, but which we realize from reading the inscription is Nebuchadnezzar symbolizing pride after the Fall. Next to him are the four prophets, Daniel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Moses. Then we have the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Tree of Jesse, the record of Christ's genealogy. Finally we see the Nativity with its peculiarly Syrian arrangement of the Child away from the Mother. Her left arm, which is quite large, is pointing to the Child in the basket, while Joseph is depicted as a rather forlorn old man. Next to this scene is one with the baby Christ being bathed, providing an intrusion from the Apochyphal books as well as a human touch with the suggestion of baptism. The colorful geometric patterns in the interior, restored in the nineteenth century, suggest an Islamic influence, while the choir frescoes are in Byzantine style.

Not far from Poitiers is the abbey of St. Savin, containing the largest surviving span of frescoes on a vaulted ceiling of any church of the Middle Ages. The spire which is on the fortress-like front tower is a Gothic addition. This church is not far from a lovely Medieval bridge over the river in which St. Savin's beheaded body was thrown. The stacking of the masses of the apse system is characteristic of Romanesque in central, south-west France. As we enter the church we are met by a Christ with outstretched hands whose form seems to conform to a Byzantine design. To the left of the porch we see warrior angels and on the right wall the plague of locusts from the book of Revelation. The angel-design on this Romanesque fresco painting conforms to Romanesque sculpture. With the Virgin and Child fitted into an ellipse is a ferocious feline animal, suggesting that there was an association between the Virgin and a tiger because of a mistranslation of the Greek ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ (Virgin) to give ΠΑΝΘΗΡ(ΟΣ) (panther), Woman and Beast.

> Signs are taken for wonders, "We would see a sign."
> The word within a word, unable to speak a word,
> Swaddled with darkness. In the juvescence of the year
> Came Christ the tiger.
>
> T. S. Eliot, *Gerontion*

From the door we get a first glimpse of the entirely painted vault done sometime at the end of the eleventh century into the twelfth, along with the groin-vaulted side aisles. The painting is done in green, blue, and yellow but with ochre and green predominating. The frescoes repeat Old Testament themes as we make out the Tower of Babel and the Ark of Noah, while the Christian message is concentrated in the porch and in one of the two crypts.

The columns of the nave are cylindrical, supporting a pure barrel vault which is forty-five feet above ground, an amazing height for an early Romanesque church. The nave capitals conform to abstract, foliated designs. We see the point where the axis shifts, de-axing the church with a consequent strengthening of the piers. As the story of Genesis unfolds, over the Adam and Eve are placed the sun and the moon as in Poitiers. The Tower of Babel, for which the stone is hewn and carted to the site to be used by the builders, as well as the other scenes, have a tapestry effect with the scenes between decorative bands. The artists used scaffolds and painted directly on plaster, inspired perhaps by Ottonian miniatures. The Drunkenness of Noah gives us a glimpse into the questions of anatomy in the Medieval mind, while the Crossing of the Red Sea indicates ability in drawing horses. The master painter set the design in crayon or chalk before the pigment was applied. The Godhead looks like the stereotype of Christ.

In the crypt is a pictorial depiction of the martydom of St. Savin in the fifth century with very realistic detail given by the wheel and other instruments of torture, and naked St. Savin representing a kind of Adam. An Eastern Christ restates the ever-present Byzantine influences. The crypt colors are well-preserved causing a sort of stylistic disparity between the vault and the crypt frescoes. Here we remember that monumental painting developed at the same time as sculpture.

In a hilly landscape of streams and trees is the citadel town of Chauvigny, a feudal microcosm: a dungeon, a castle, two palaces and a church. The lord-bishop could be a relative of the lord of the manor. From this fortified area we are not far from the Atlantic where the Normans had landed and conducted quick raids. St. Peter's on the citadel is our main concern. In the choir are eight polychromed capitals of the twelfth century. These capitals which are on a hemicycle of six columns contain most unusual designs on all four faces. The master artist of this kind of folk art, Gofridus, seems inspired from German illuminations and Oriental motifs. In the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi (which bears the master sculptor's name) the influence of medieval church theatre and miracle plays is evident through the cast of stock characters and events as well as the exaggeration of gestures and parts of the body, especially the heads and the hands. One of the most interesting of the capitals is the Temptation in the Desert with Satan depicted as a monster with a snout, hoofed feet, and a kind of inflamed mane. Satan is offering to Christ the kingdoms and principalities of the world in exchange for Christ's worship of him. The hands gesture very dramatically in their expressing of the story, as Christ answers, "Get thee behind me, Satan.", and we notice a similarity in contour on the face of Satan and Christ. Babylon, the Whore of the Apocalypse, is depicted with long hair and contemporary dress.

Side by side with the Christian story are Oriental whimsical creatures, dragons and winged creatures working structurally and symmetrically in the capital design. This suggests a working out of the centaur-lapith opposition of archaic Greece which will be treated by

Michelangelo later. In this question of who will win, animal or man, here the animal seems to be losing as man prevails just as he did on the metopes of the Parthenon. But these Oriental monsters seem to be serenely devouring humans, imparting a kind of sense of hell to the story, but without emotion. Also there is a woman sticking her tongue out, forming the corner of a capital whose decoration above is not sculpted but painted. There is another woman with long hair in a bracket, which is a sculptural motif, like a lamp, attached to the wall. Above this woman is the same head with a serpent's body, depicting the local fairy, Mélusine. Her tale is that of a beautiful girl who appeared out of the forest and became the object of Count Raymond of Lusignan's love. At the time he was very forlorn due to a hunting accident in which he killed his uncle. Raymond could not understand why every Saturday afternoon she locked herself in her room. He did not know that she had to turn into a half-woman, helf-serpent during this time of the week as punishment for having killed her father. When he finally broke down the door, he found that his lover was a tragic creature, and she flew out of the window with a pathetic moaning which has been heard from then on in the forests of the Poitou.

On the edge of the province is one of the loveliest churches in France, St. Peter's, Aulnay, which was an auxiliary pilgrimage church. Mentioned only sketchily in historical writings, it sums up many problems of Romanesque iconography. The Poitou facade on the west has a central portal and two lateral blind portals with sculpted archivolts over them. There is a dominating tower pressing on the facade, while the spires on the frontal towers are timid. The towers are built in an angle buttressing fashion to keep the front erect, which is common in England but not in France. The apse in the back is elevated in Gothic apse style. Because the tower is so high and heavy, the architect balanced it with the addition of gables or pediments to give more verticality.

In the left tympanum, enclosed by a broken arch, is St. Peter crucified upside down. The deeply carved archivolts conform to Islamic-Oriental design. We see a large-headed monster at eye level and two angels moving in opposition to the symmetry of St. Peter's cross. The bestiary world with its dragons and devils make the transition to the central portal which has no tympanum, as at Notre-Dame-la-Grande.

The central portal contains a series of symbolic sculptures with the outer archivolt depicting signs of the zodiac. The middle one has a bust of Christ surrounded by wise and foolish virgins (with the bodies of the foolish virgins more voluptuous than the bodies of the wise), all of the virgins emerging as Greco-Roman caryatids. The third archivolt pictures knights in armor crushing beasts representing the virtues and vices--the knights are in medieval costume and the monsters are the usual serpentine, double-headed, devilish-looking beasts we have seen before.

In the right tympanum is a seated figure, Christ, resting his feet on a stool, "scabellum" in Catholic ritual, while two figures, probably Peter and Paul, flank him. Again the archivolts are carved in the same complex curved design which is very rare in a rural church such as this.

Another vast sculptural program is in existence in the south portal. The bestiary on the top contains a summation of medieval knowledge about animals and mythology in a kind of encyclopedia of natural history. There is an owl, medieval symbol of heresy, with a centaur next to it and a siren with a serpentine tail. Animals are stacked and picking fights with each other suggesting a kind of universal struggle. A man is skeletally depicted. A donkey dressed up as a priest while a second donkey holds a book for him to read indicates a dim view of pedantic priests. The whole program contains a medieval microcosm with the elders of the Apocalypse, the apostles, atlases, monsters' faces, acrobats, and lovers embracing.

The most beautiful carvings around the eastern apse are eight hooped men which an artist probably translated from an illuminated manuscript to the sculpted stone. Inside on one capital are pictured elephants with an inscription saying, "These are elephants." Another capital contains the slaying of Abel by Cain, while still another displays Delilah cutting Samson's hair with gigantic shears as he is being held by one of her lady attendants.

In the same general area, the three-stage octagonal tower of Charroux belonged to a great abbey that no longer exists. St. Saviour of Charroux allied a Latin cross plan with a circular plan at the crossing from which arose the tower. It was a building as long as Gothic Notre-Dame, Paris. To Charroux had been bequeathed the entrails of Richard the Lionhearted. His heart was destined for the cathedral at Rouen and the rest of him for the royal abbey of Fontevraud, burial place of the Plantagenets, near Tours and the Loire. There are polychrome carved gisants on the tombs of Richard, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II. The abbey is on the domed plan indicating the course of the Byzantine-Venetian influence by way of Eleanor's dowry in Aquitaine. St. Front of Périgueux, restored by Abadie, the architect of Sacré-Coeur in Paris, is a twelfth-century domed building reminiscent of St. Mark's in Venice. On the abbey grounds of Fontevraud is a fascinating and elegant octagonal kitchen, each "absidial" culminating in a conical chimney spire. The structure is reminiscent of St. Michael of Entraygues, a chapel near the cathedral of Angoulême which was unfortunately restored by Abadie. Angoulême, like Notre-Dame-la-Grande of Poitiers has a sculpted facade which Abadie topped with Poitou-style conical spires. Around the ascending Christ are carvings bearing influences from Moorish and ivory art. The knightly costumes on the lintel of the right blind portal seem to be of the same style as the intriguing Arthurian costumes at Modena.

The circular floor plan exists in France in a major building at Neuvy St. Sépulcre which emulates the Jerusalem rotunda, while nearby the building of St. Léonard with its influential Limousin tower, also incorporates a circular element lodged against the north transept.

VII. ROMANESQUE: BURGUNDY AND PROVENCE

In the eleventh century many building programs were guided by the Benedictine order at Cluny in Burgundy, not far from the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. The influence of Cluny was extremely important to the architectural development of medieval Europe. From Cluny I (915) to Cluny III (1083) each church was larger than the preceding until one finally held twelve-thousand monks plus worshippers and pilgrims. This plan which had double transepts as well as embryonic flying buttresses and six towers was based on a module derived from mathematics and music. All that is left of Cluny, which was destroyed in the post-French Revolutionary era and sold as stone, is part of a transept and its tower. Thus by the hand of man vanished the most brilliant of Romanesque buildings. The architect of genius who examined and restored many monuments in the nineteenth century is Viollet-le-Duc.

In this rich land of art the abbey of abbeys may be St. Magdalen of Vézelay, situated in the moving landscape of the plain of Avallon, the commencement site of the second and third Crusades, as well as the place at which Thomas a Becket pronounced the excommunication of Henry II. On the exterior of St. Magdalen's abbey, so called because the relics of the woman who knew Christ were transported here, we see an un-Romanesque Christ which is a heavy nineteenth century restoration. As we enter the narthex that has three tympana we perceive the beautiful nave and once again note the Islamic influences on the transverse ribs of the groin vault. Over the central narthex portal is a pentecostal Christ in a majestic position as his hands project the rays to the apostles, bestowing them with the Gospel mission. The outer archivolt with its zodiac above has compartments containing different people of the earth as the Europeans observed or imagined them--Jews, Cappadocians, Arabs, Ethiopians, Byzantines, Armenians. Below stand Peter and Paul conversing with each other, portrayed in a style only a step away from the naturalism of Gothic statuary. The floral-bounded tympanum to the right contains events of the Birth of Christ, while that to the left depicts the resurrection and events after it in deeply recessed carvings. In the interior we see a beautiful capital called the Mystic Mill, where wheat is being ground into flour, perhaps by Peter and Paul, symbolizing the refinement of the Old Testament through the New Testament in a continuation of the pentecostal idea we saw in the central narthex tympanum.

Not far from Vézelay is the cathedral of St. Lazarus of Autun, containing sculptures in the tympanum which were either done or donated by Gislebertus between 1130-1135, indicated by the inscription at Christ's

feet, *Gislebertus hoc fecit:* "I, Gislebertus, made this." Although the cathedral was heavily restored in the fifteenth century, the porch, nave, capitals, and the famous sculpture of Eve in the Museum are Romanesque. As we ascend the open porch we see Christ with hands outstretched in the tympanum which is bounded by signs of the zodiac. The head of the Christ was destroyed in the eighteenth century and the present somewhat awkward copy was added. On the upper left of Christ is the enthroned Virgin with an angel. The Virgin seldom dominates the scenes and always remains tender. Below are the apostles, while on the right is St. Michael and a devil struggling over a scale weighing the souls. The mandorla has the distinctive feature of angels supporting it, while the ellipse idea is now becoming a three-dimensional form within which Christ is seated on his throne. The lintel below has a scene of the resurrection of the dead and pilgrims moving to Compostela, while on the right there is a drunkard beating on an empty barrel and snakes devouring a woman's breast. Two devils' claws, not belonging to a body, descend from the register above to grab a damned soul on the lintel. In the central support of the capitals below the lintel are two Atlantises holding up the tympanum. On the engaged capital to the left are depicted the wolf and crane from Aesop's Fables, while on another old men of the Apocalypse are grouped together.

The finest Romanesque nude is the Eve of Autun by Gislebertus which is over 2 x 3 feet. This piece was part of a lintel that was on the north transept portal and was probably balanced by a sculpture of Adam of equal proportions. As Eve reclines on her left elbow she picks a fruit from the tree of life which is in the center of this slab. In a closer view we see the hair both stylized and flowing and her expression is almost sad in a kind of announcement of the forms we will see on Chartres West. Without a doubt she is the most moving and lyrical of Eves with a natural ease that belies the sculpture's sophistication.

If Romanesque has a kinship with Roman art it is in Provence that the connection is apparent, especially in Arles, a great Roman town in the South of France. Here there are arenas, triumphal arches, an amphitheatre, and the aqueduct at nearby Nîmes. Arles has a very find museum housing draped and undraped statuary and relief sculpture on sarcophagi. In the south antiquity has a dominating influence on art, even in the Gothic churches, and this is obvious in the facade of St. Trophime which, although it was built in the twelfth century, has a Roman arch and sculptures of a certain derivative sterility. Over these greater-than-life-size statues situated between the columns is a gable and a tympanum with a Christ whose right hand is raised in blessing, while his left rests on the Book of Knowledge. On the lintel below Christ, who is draped like a Roman, the apostles become standard iconography as they gaze upward, along with the evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Above this central theme in the recession of the portal is a unique example of serialization in the stacked angels, while Christ is looking toward a procession of the elect to his right. The Romanesque universe carries along barbarian mythology in its obsession with demonology and hell, as we see in the procession of the damned to the left of Christ. Engulfed by the flames of hell they are

held together by ropes in a chain gang. Consuming what we can make out as a nude body is the first large Romanesque devil in the South of France, a grotesque monster with a deformed head. As he destroys this lustful person we note the two bodies merging in an interesting formal concept which appears again near the portal as the form of St. Stephen, who is dying, is connected to the form of a child, representing his soul. Angels are coming down from heaven and St. Stephen is being carried to heaven toward the hand of God which comes out of a cloud. It is very seldom in early medieval iconography that God will be represented; rather he and Christ double according to the Nicean Creed. Lovely draped figures, which are almost wistful, are juxtaposed with the imposing Roman figures, while a forlorn Daniel stands between two lions at the base of a column. The influence of Italy is acknowledged in a very beautiful tower which is typically Romanesque in its three stages, with Lombardian bands. The famous cloister contains capitals with scenes from the Bible, with those from the Old Testament on the northern, darker side and those from the New on the southern, lighter side. Several of these are twin capitals, such as one of the Nativity besides a foliated one containing a head, or one with the Magi proceeding toward Christ with one showing Christ entering Jerusalem on a donkey. Some of the more complex capitals will be sculpted on four sides with the narrative going around.

Another great twelfth century abbey a few miles away from Arles is St. Gilles which is, unfortunately, heavily mutilated, but contains a frieze of the most dramatic dimensions of any sculpture in that area. From the typically Roman ascent we come upon three open portals, unusual for Romanesque. On the facade below the three tympana is a frieze which contains the living theatre of the Medieval church. On the left tympanum is seated the Virgin, in the middle, a Christ in majesty, and on the right, a Christ crucified, which is rarely seen in a church facade since the crucifixion is usually reserved for other art forms. There is a somewhat Roman aspect to the figures of saints and apostles which are less refined than those at Arles. We begin the drama with the Virgin enthroned and the Magi rushing to her and Joseph above the frieze of the entry into Jerusalem. The tension builds as the frieze moves to the next portal where Judas is trying to throw back the money he has received and a baroque Christ is chasing the merchants from the temple. The drama continues as we view Christ in majesty in the tympanum and under him the Last Supper, reliefs which were mutilated in the fervor of the Protestant reformation. With exaggerated stage gestures the characters carry the story to a high pitch in the kiss of Judas. In obvious symbolism in the jambs below, marble slabs of Cain and Abel are offering up their sacrifices to God's hand, as he rejects the wheat offering of Cain and accepts the blood offering of Abel. Opposite are interlaced motifs from mythology which give a dynamism to the linear presentation. Continuing in the right frieze is the Flagellation with Christ bound to a column being whipped after which he is made to carry his cross to Golgotha. The scene below the Crucifixion contains representations of Mary Magdalen draping her hair over the feet of Christ and the women at the tomb. The tragedy culminates, of course, with the death of the Son of God.

At the estuary of the Rhône, Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, dedicated to all of the Marys of the New Testament, is a fortress church. On every May 15th gypsies come from all over Europe to re-enact the story which says that all of these women appeared miraculously by raft from Palestine on these shores in southern France.

VIII. ROMANESQUE: AUVERGNE, THE SOUTHWEST AND SPAIN

The pilgrimage road that originated at Le Puy led to Moissac through Conques. The Auvergne has always been an isolated province because of the forbidding, volcanic mountain formations. Its art, however, had great influence in the Romanesque period because it was receiving influences from both Italy and Islamic Spain. The Cathedral at Le Puy, on the domed plan which is rare in the southeast, has a distinguished Cordovan-style cloister. Nearby is a chapel on a peak dedicated to St. Michael with a trilobial division on the tympanum.

The great churches of the Auvergne conform to approximately the same pattern. The apse leads to a dominant crossing tower, creating a pyramidal effect. St. Nectaire, the loveliest of the Auvergne churches, possesses colorful capitals of the type of Conques but less sophisticated than those of Notre-Dame-du-Port at nearby Clermont-Ferrand, starting point of the First Crusade.

During the persecution under the Emperor Maximian in 286-288 a twelve year-old girl was martyred defending her faith and her body was buried in the town of Agen near Moissac from where it was brought triumphantly to Conques in the ninth century. We will look at the eleventh to twelfth century church that was erected in her honor, Ste. Foy de Conques, to which Charlemagne, Louis the Pious (819), and Pepin II of Aquitaine (838) made important bequests. The church, which was one of the requisite stops for pilgrims on the way to Santiago, has nineteenth century frontal towers and a symmetrical facade. The exterior east end is a variation of the stacked absidial system against the choir, while the eleventh century nave walls are crudely built.

The tympanum of the western portal is distinctive in several ways: 1) the original polychromy is still on it, hues of blue, ochre and red, in "a circumstance which gives us the rare privilege of seeing this composition of the Last Judgment as the Middle Ages saw it, alive and warm with vivacious movement (Conant)." The tympanum was completed in 1124; 2) there is much folk art translated onto the tympanum; 3) there is a definite shift in certain elements which we have seen in Romanesque so far. Missing are the stock iconographic characterization and the intellectualized Hell. This Inferno is a reality in which thieving bishops are brought to trial, arrogant lords are pierced with lances, and local fornicators, illustrated by at least one full-length, doll-faced, buxom naked harlot, are hanged before an audience of devils.

In the tympanum the Christ, which reminds us of the one in Santiago later, dominates the scene with a rigid stance, his right hand raised in blessing and his left pointing to the scene below. With the elect in an orderly tableau on his right and the damned in a cramped chaos to his left below, this Christ of the apocalypse is "directing the traffic of the Last Judgment." In the tripartite and horizontal divisions above the lintel are band inscriptions explaining everything. Above Christ are two angels carrying the instruments of his death, the lance and nails, while on each side of this an angel blows the trumpet of the Last Judgment. The group to his right forms a procession led by the Virgin Mary wearing a blue mantle, followed by Peter and St. James. A local abbot drives the reluctant, majestic figure of a Frankish king who carries an offering in atonement.

In one of the triangular divisions below the Christ is a scene of the interior of the cell of Ste. Foy as the artist imagined it with an altar and bed. Hanging from a beam are prisoners' chains since the saint had two miracle-working powers, that of delivering prisoners and that of healing the blind. The hand of God is thrust out to the child in blessing. To the right of this in another subdivision is a depiction of the dead being raised at the sound of the last trumpet with the lids of their tombs lifted.

The hell scene to the lower right includes a skirmish between the gates of hell and the gates of heaven in which the devil is battling with an angel and another devil. Another monstrous dragon-like creature is about to devour the head of a man, while people are being hanged among serpents. In a statement about local occurences there is an abbot dipping his hand in the till, while a devil in frontal position is stomping on a local lord who was cavorting with whores and who is finally hanged by another devil. There is a full-length sculpture of a harlot and a humorous depiction of a devil holding a ram with the help of another devil in an attempt to knock down the gates of heaven.

This rather remote church possesses some of the most precious treasures of the Romanesque period. Inside the cloister is a museum containing several including the famous statuette of the seated child martyr whose physiognomy is oriental. Successive generations have encrusted the statue with precious metals and stones: the crystal globes are perhaps tenth century Carolingian. There is also the so-called "A" of Charlemagne. One theory is that this "A" was donated by Charlemagne, proving that the primary of pre-Romanesque churches is at Conques. Other reliquaries include a lantern made in the form of a tower and pentagonal and hexagonal filigreed reliquary boxes. Many ascetic visitors were of course horrified by the idolatry that had been perpetuated by that time.

The great abbey of St. Peter's in Moissac is not far from Toulouse, the capital of the south. It has perhaps the most distinguished tympanum of Romanesque abbeys and certainly the most distinguished capitaled cloister. A view of the portal with its southern exposure is most preferable

in the morning. Sculpted some time after 1115, it is inspired from miniatures and various manuscripts from Spain and southern France with Christ in a mandorla or elliptical enclosure. The old narthex contains capitals with bi-corporeal animals and intricate intertwined foliage in Coptic-like reliefs. The tympanum itself takes its inspiration from the Book of Revelation, Chapter 4:2, which says: "And immediately I was in the spirit: and behold, a throne was set in heaven and one sat on the throne...And...I saw four and twenty elders sitting clothed in white raiment..." The elders of the Apocalypse, the good people who will inherit the earth, are holding a vial with the wine of righteousness in one hand and a viol or fiddle in the other. The lintel is made from marble in a rose pattern, which some scholars have suggested was brought from a pagan temple in the Pyrenees. The Christ, in one of the most powerful and serene portrayals of him, is being propelled by the evangelists with their symbols. The angels conform to the curvature of the tympanum and the elders, in different stances, were carved separately. In an almost Renaissance concept the eyes of the old men of the Apocalypse gaze at Christ in a convergence toward an infinite vanishing point.

The portal contains many motifs such as the tendril-like motif issuing from the mouth of grotesque figures on the left side, continuing to the corresponding slab on the other side of the tympanum. This tendril motif which scholars attribute to the Orient abounds in Medieval Europe and is the merging of animal and plant life in a kind of benevolent positive statement. To the left of the wall recession in the portal are scenes dealing with the death of the miser who threw crumbs beneath the table to poor Lazarus, with dogs licking his wounds. In a lesson regarding avarice the story is told in four sections above which is a frieze with Moses holding the tablets of Law and next to him the souls, represented as infants being held to the bosom of Abraham. The scenes below show the wife of the miser weeping at his death before his soul is catapulted into hell. We see at eye level avarice symbolized by a creature with a bloated belly and lust symbolized by a naked woman with a serpent in her legs. In the center below the lintel and the rosettes on the trumeau we have interlaced lionesses with the rosette motif reoccuring behind them. In the right recession of the trumeau is Jeremiah lamenting for Jerusalem, facing Isaiah, while on the left St. Paul faces St. Peter. On the right wall of the portal is a frieze relating the flight into Egypt while below are the events of the birth of Christ--the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Magi, and the Nativity.

The capitals of the cloister fall into different groups--those which seem inspired by Islamic art, those that continue the animal motif, those with Old Testament scenes, those from the New Testament. As was previously mentioned, these capitals are probably the most important in a Romanesque cloister. There are pier reliefs with abstract designs and effigies of abbots, which were influential in the development of sculpture in the southwest of France. If we look closely at some of the basket-capitals we see a resemblance to those of the Byzantines, the Copts, and the Moslems. Architectural components govern to some extent the form which the sculpture takes, as exemplified by an angel whose wings conform to the triangular space of the capital. On another capital the Petrine crucifixion is displayed.

In Toulouse, a city older than Rome, is the basilica of St. Sernin, built in 1060 and named after one of the early regional missionaries. It has a magnificent five-storied tower, the first three stages being Romanesque and the last two, Gothic. Along with a transept are two sets of side aisles, an ambulatory, and a rather forbidding hulk for a facade, which was never finished. Because of the weight of the gigantic tower pushing toward the front the crossing supports were fortified to a degree that meant architectural strangulation of the interior. Two portals at the transept arms admitted the thousands of pilgrims on their way to Spain and Santiago de Compostela, and there are five absidial chapels in the east. The crossing tower forms a polyphonic stacked effect of semi-circular masses upon each other moving toward the pyramid. The many capitals of this famous sculptural program which used to be inside are now found in a nearby museum. The most celebrated sculptures of St. Sernin are on the Porte Miégeville on the south side of the church, whose classicism strongly influenced southern sculpture. In the ambulatory are marble reliefs from the end of the eleventh century, notably an Oriental-looking Christ.

Domed buildings in the Moissac area are the Cathedral of St. Etienne at Cahors and St. Mary's abbey at Souillac. Both Cahors and Souillac support domes over the nave, an unusual two at Cahors and three at Souillac. Both buildings have distinguished Romanesque sculpture. At Cahors the tympanum of the north portal restates the naturalism and the classicism of the St. Sernin, Toulouse, tympanum. At Cahors the Virgin appears in an important space in the tympanum, pointing to the Son. A lintel in the museum has affinities with the great Moissac lintel. The lapidation of St. Stephen is narrated in corresponding registers and reminds us of the frieze of the same theme at St. Benoit-sur-Loire, which has a unique porch-tower on a quadrilateral plan and complex capital carvings. At Souillac the trumeau, now in the interior, offers us a fairly logical unfolding of the origins of sin and a Promethean inter-chaining of chimeric flesh tortures. The state of fallen nature is alleviated by the sacrifice of Isaac, evoking Christ's death. Nearby is the magnificent relief of Isaiah, hair stylized, wearing a beautifully decorated flowing costume that accents his almost dancing stance. The Romanesque tympanum also in the interior tells in less advanced sculptural style of the pact of the monk Theophilus with the Devil, a legend in the Middle Ages.

For germinal Italian Romanesque sculptural forms comparable to those of Toulouse and Moissac we must go to Modena; in England to Malmesbury Abbey (1160) and the Lincoln Cathedral (1165-80). High Romanesque English sculpture derives from continental innovations. But by the twelfth century English miniature painters are more original than continental painters and exercise a strong influence across the channel.

On the road to Santiago de Compostela is one of the great abbeys of the Middle Ages, St. Guilhem of the Desert. As an aspirant to monasticism St. Guilhem, the companion of Charlemagne, gave up his worldly life to retire to the desert. Charlemagne pleaded with him to change his decision, but to no avail, after which he gave him a sliver of the true Cross, the most precious gift that could be offered. Thousands of Crusaders stopped at this church which has an apse recalling the circular buildings of

Jerusalem. The cloister walks are empty since the capitals were transported to New York and now overlook the Hudson. Another church, whose cloister sculpture is part of the Cloisters in New York City, is St. Michael of Cuxa, an abbey in the Pyrenees, near Prades.

In the west Pyrenees, the church of St. Marie d'Oloron offers us sculpture in pink marble. The building has an open porch tower and the protected tympanum is dominated by a Descent from the Cross scene, while in one of the semi-circular divisions that are ribboned off, we see a Christ in a mandorla flanked by two seated lions, representing the ultimate triumph of Christianity. On the outer archivolts are the old men of the Apocalypse. Below is a marvelous sequence of peasants at their tasks, including salmon fishing (now extinct there) and commemorating feasts and festivals. There is a free-standing equestrian statue of Gaston IV, Viscount of Béarn, founder of the church upon his return from the First Crusade in which he distinguished himself at the capture of Jerusalem. At the base of the columnar support of the tympanum are two persons chained together and wearing Arab robes.

We make the same journey as did the pilgrims across Northern Spain through the Pyrenees by way of Somport Pass on the way to Santiago de Compostela. Here in the Carolingian era was fought the battle at Roncevaux in which many Franks and Saracens were slain. Although foreigners have purchased much of the art from these small dilapidated churches in this area, many of the works of art are housed in one of the finest museums for Romanesque art in Barcelona. In this museum we can view the twelfth century Spanish Pantocrator in a style that is reminiscent of the great elliptical Byzantine Christs of the Mediterranean. The dark outlines on the fresco are characteristic of Spanish Romanesque as well as is the coloration on the cheeks.

We proceed to Santiago de Compostela examining the major Romanesque monuments on the way. At Frómista we see a French-style church which is supposed to have been built in 1066. On this building with transept and octagonal tower is a dome on squinches and lovely capitals bearing Arab influences as well as barbarian animal mythology scenes. At the great cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos are preserved tenth and eleventh century manuscripts. It is an unusual two-tiered cloister and the pier supports have distinguished twelfth century relief sculpture ritualistic and processional, reminiscent of Moissac. Then we go to the Pantheon of St. Isidor of Léon where an elaborate and well-preserved cycle of frescoes was painted in the twelfth century. As Greek vase painting renders clues about Greek painting, likewise the frescoes bear clues to monumental medieval painting.

Finally we arrive at Santiago near the ocean where we find a Romanesque pilgrimage cathedral with transept, side aisles, and ambulatory. The complex towers which, while looking Baroque in the distance, are actually eighteenth century disguising this great church which was built on the pilgrimage plan similar to that of St. Martial of Limoges, St. Martin of Tours and Conques. On a central narthex tympanum of the Portico of

Glory the Christ merges with St. James on the trumeau supporting the lintel. In Spain St. James is a patron saint, often portrayed in militant fashion, because he was the saint of the reconquest from the Moslems. The Portico with its twelfth century statuary evoking Conques statuary retains its polychromy. The jamb supports were turned into apostles and saints which then became literal pillars of the church. On the exterior south side are very beautiful older relief sculptures including Christ in a hieratic stance and King David with his feet crossed. On one side God is creating Adam while on the other God, meaning also Christ, is creating Eve in the sort of naturalistic way in which Spanish Romanesque transforms through stone the alliance of the human with the divine.

IX. CHARTRES AND GOTHIC

High Gothic literally refers to height. Both symbolically and literally it is a statement through architecture of the flight of the mind and soul to the heavens. While the admission of light forms an important element in the spread of this architecture in the northern climate where it fourished, Gothic architecture is a distillation of the theological, philosophical, and scientific thought of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, reaching its apogee at Chartres.

For a Gothic cathedral Chartres is modestin size, 121 feet from the center of the vaulting system to the floor and measuring 427 by 107 feet inside the building. The original Romanesque tower is 338 feet high, while the sixteenth century flamboyant tower reaches 364 feet. Begun in 1194 after a great fire that destroyed everything but the narthex sculptures and the bases of the north and south towers in the pilgrim church, it was completed in 1121 in an all-out community effort, with masons and laymen, children and old people, princes and prelates sharing the work of glorifying the Virgin Mary. Chartres is studied not only as a monument of Gothic architecture, but also for its three portals on the west facade, called The Royal Portal, which contain carvings that antedate the fire of 1194. The twelfth century south spire, or the "old tower," is hollow and does not rest on a framework, its walls diminishing from the base to the summit. It remains one of the most beautifully abstract forms in all Romanesque. The north spire is early Renaissance in the style of flamboyant Gothic. There is no crossing tower which is so typical of Romanesque, marking the fact that Gothic both comes from and yet works against Romanesque. Even though Bourges, built at the same time, had more advanced engineering, Chartres for esthetic and cultural reasons became the prototype for Gothic with the buttresses discretely interwoven into the building as though the architect wanted to disguise them, avoiding their formal appearance as in Notre-Dame of Paris.

A view of the interior elevation indicates three stages, the pointed arches of the bays, the walk-on gallery or triforium, and finally the clerestory windows admitting light from above. The triforium passage shows that the wall was no longer treated as a solid mass, but rather it was dematerialized providing the transition between lower and upper elements.

By the time the cathedral was finished there was an integration of design whereby the sculptural program on the exterior of the west, the north (Old Testament porch) and the south (New Testament porch) have corresponding and interrelated exterior and interior iconography. Over three-thousand sculptures have correspondences with the iconography of the stained glass, the most complete span of stained glass surviving anywhere. The glass of Chartres which was dismantled during the Second World War and sent to central France has remained whole to this day. As we indicated before, Gothic architecture responded to the need for architectural solutions that would admit light. Abbot Suger at St. Denis had created a metaphysical theory of light which was brilliantly applied at Gothic Chartres. The theory made the analogy between divine light and the light of material objects. Light was seen as the most brilliant and therefore illuminating of material phenomena. Architecture was viewed as communicating divine order to man, and God as the supreme architect. Scholastic theory was used to comprehend the universe and clarify faith.

The space between the two frontal towers is part of the old church and the windows are Romanesque, the left one dealing with the Passion of Christ, the center with the Life of Christ, and the right with the genealogy of Christ in the tree of Jesse. The west rose is Romanesque, symbol of the flower of the Virgin, fragrance, love, beauty, circle, completion, eternity. As light floods the cathedral in the late afternoon we see Christ in the center looking down at the very complex labyrinth occupying the center of the nave, which the faithful would crawl on to do penance. Perhaps the rose is echoing the circle of the labyrinth since it is a kind of anomaly in an architectural concept that rests so heavily on the idea of the pointed arch. The mosaic and frieze decorative concept has been transferred to the stained glass.

Under the north rose are lancet windows with representations of Solomon as a French king and David with his harp, merging the biblical kingship with the French monarchy in a conscious attempt to ally the church with the kingdom. The south porch is dominated by the teaching Christ, although there are still indications of God's judgment in the periphery with devils tempting both courtly ladies and nuns, while the north porch contains Old Testament figures: Elijah, Abraham, Isaac, Moses, Samuel or Aaron, David, with Isaiah, Jeremiah, Simeon, and John the Baptist holding the lamb next to Peter.

On the West facade, the Royal Portal, which had been intended for a narthex, like that of Vézelay, has three divisions. On the left tympanum is the Ascending Christ, in the center, Christ in his majesty, flanked by two angels, and on the right, the Virgin Mary enthroned with the Child. In the jambs below are the twenty-four column statues which have lost their identification but seem to be historical personages. The central tympanum contains Christ surrounded by the winged tetramorph. On the lintel are the apostles in groups of three. Christ is sitting on his throne in a depiction of his teaching personality, rather than a forbidding, judgmental one. The nervous voluptuousness of Romanesque has become serene and almost classical. These lovely statues, which are eroding from stone disease, glow with the light of the sunset. The Virgin Portal on the right glorifies Mary who is

surrounded by two angels and Muse-like female figures symbolizing the Liberal Arts. The archivolt springs on the head of Aristotle and reaches Pythagoras, while on the lintel we see Mary astonished at the news of the Annunciation, after which are the Presentation and the Nativity. Aristotle and philosophy begin this series of sculptures, followed by Cicero and rhetoric, Euclid and geometry (at the height of the archivolt), Boethius and arithmetic, Ptolemy and astronomy, Pythagoras and music, and Donatus and grammar. John of Salisbury said: "Wisdom is a fountain from which emanate rivers, irrigating the whole earth. They do not solely till the garden of delights of the holy scriptures but these rivers also reach the gentiles." Scholastic theory was used both to comprehend the universe and to clarify faith, so we may consider the Gothic cathedral as a model of the earthly city representing the heavenly city as the Temple of Solomon represented the Heavenly City on earth. The cathedral is not a symbol, but rather a model of actuality, since reducing the scale of reality aids in understanding it.

The Gothic style was dominant in Europe from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. It began with St. Denis constructed under the direction of Abbot Suger, friend and biographer of Louis VI. Gothic buildings are urban rather than rural as so many Romanesque edifices were, and they depend on the integration of the sculptural program into the structure of the church as well as on the presence of the glass. Suger's program at St. Denis aimed at spatial unification based on theoretical unification. As scholasticism attempted to comprehend the universe as a totality in order to clarify faith, so the Gothic cathedral was conceived as a final summation of all knowledge with each of the parts working toward a final architectural synthesis. The versatility of the pointed arch succeeded in relating irregular elements and created a skeleton of stone with glass-filled spaces that had a luminous effect. Divine light could then be comprehended through man-made art, and the building itself could serve as the model of an ideal structure. In Sens, Laon and Notre-Dame of Paris in the second half of the twelfth century there is both a logical relationship of all the parts as well as dematerialization of wall space made possible through series of arches and buttresses working together.

The cathedrals of Reims and Cologne are perhaps Gothic par excellence. Here the jamb sculptures as well as all of the structural elements tend to achieve a balance, and through illusion coupled with reality turn walls into lacework.

Finally there was a small church built of glass, Ste. Chapelle in Paris, where Gothic architecture attempted to dispense with walls through the use of solid buttresses, filling the spaces of the building skeleton with glass. It was constructed around 1248 and contained the major relic of the Passion, the crown of thorns which St. Louis haggled to procure from the Frankish Emperor of Byzantium, Baudouin II in 1239. It is a highly centralized church, sixty feet high, with a spire over two hundred feet high, with a single nave and four "glass" bays on each side.

In the crypt of Auxerre, where we see a fresco of an equestrian Christ surrounded by iconized symbols of the evangelists, we also find a unicorn, which becomes a central symbol of the hunt for the late medieval world. The unicorn, a mythical beast with one horn emerging from its head, resembles a Tibetan goat whose fame reached Europe through travellers. Later the symbol becomes refined to double finally with the idea of Christ and lover, to be pacified by the Virgin Mary or tamed by a courtly lady. In the Cluny museum in Paris we find the late fifteenth century tapestries on courtly life, the *Lady and the Unicorn* tapestries, in which the Lady is sourrounded by medieval symbols as she moves on the plane of sensuality which is always on the other side of spirituality. The rabbit is fertility, the dog is faithfulness, the leopard is sumptuousness, and the monkey will appear later to denote baser instincts. The artist is very much aware of depth and planes as the mirror reflects the face of the unicorn. The senses are presented: the sense of sight by an enclosed, earthly paradise; the sense of smell, by the perfume; the sense of hearing, by music; the sense of taste, as the lady puts something on her lips; the sense of touch, as she touches the unicorn's horn. A summation of all of this takes place in her royal tent on which is inscribed, "To my only desire," while she is being handed a coffer of jewels, the unicorn charmed away from the center of attention by the music. In her supremacy she fuses the ideal of both the courtly lady and the Virgin. This is a paradise on earth which is sensuous and sensual, evoking the other Paradise. The question of artificial leading to the real will be a serious matter in the Renaissance. "It occurred to me," wrote Da Vinci, "to paint a divine painting."

The *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry,* a beautiful fifteenth century manuscript done by Flemish-German artists, follows the months of the year in calendar or zodical sequences to show us how time and prayer obsessed the medieval mind. January has the Duke giving a feast with the table covered with a damask cloth laid with platters. February is a winter scene with the lady to the left warming herself near the fire in a lovely blue dress. March displays the Chateau of Lusignan near Poitiers, the Mélusine fairy overhead, along with several scenes of country life: a shepherd and his dog, sheep, people tilling the soil. With April "time has shed its cloak of wind, rain, and cold to assume the embroidery of the sun, shining bright and beautiful," so sung by the prince and poet, Charles of Orleans. Here two maidens pick violets. In May we see the ladies riding in sumptous dress with trumpets, flutes and trombones leading them. June depicts the harvest, and July the Chateau du Clain in Poitiers which no longer exists. The Chateau of Etampes commands the scene in August, while in September we see the Chateau de Saumur near the Loire during the grape harvest. October is the month of tilling and sowing as we view it from the left bank of the Seine from the Hotel de Nesle. In November is the acorn harvest, while in December we see an animated wild boar hunt with the Duc de Berry. The "quickening" of naturalism of these miniatures is a bridge to Renaissance realism and perspective theory.

The common grass is green.
But there are regions where the grass
Assumes a pale Italianate sheen—
Is almost Byzantine.
...new colors make new things
And new things make old things again.

Wallace Stevens

X. THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

The Renaissance has often been defined as the rebirth of antiquity, a rather naive definition since this same antique culture existed also throughout the vast period that we call the Middle Ages. Rather the Renaissance in Italy and in the North should be viewed as a continuum of western civilization from the time of the Greeks and the Romans through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. And so, we ask, what is new in the Renaissance with regard to antiquity? Certainly the value system of the Renaissance was different from that of the Middle Ages which elevated the values of humility, obedience, chastity, courage, loyalty, fidelity. In fact these same values provided the underpinnings of a whole society that itself saw several minor renaissance in the Carolingian, the Ottonian, the renaissance at Chartres. But now we come to a rebirth of ancient values at a point when a great civilization is reaching its maturity. Perhaps the Italian Renaissance is neo-platonism revived in the late Middle Ages coupled with the rediscovery of Ciceronian manners and ethics. Through the ascetic and courtly value system with its adulation of Mary and women, poetry, and patriotism, we see for the first time in history a cult of beauty which presupposes a sensitized audience. Through this creation or contemplation of beauty the profane moves to the ideal, from a poetry of the earth to a vision of the divine, intended to encourage the fulfillment of potential to the highest possible degree. Throughout these centuries the fundamental question of man's place in the universe was implicit, but for one brilliant moment in fifteenth century Renaissance Italy Leonardo Da Vinci and Michelangelo presented a heroic and optimistic view of man, at a time when man discovered printing and gunpowder, the New World, on the eve of the blood-baths caused by Luther's revolt. And so we have the revival of the models of antiquity in artistically minded humanists and humanistically minded artists, as the Italian city-state is like the Greek city-state. Like the Greeks the Italians participated in the human drama through their art, although we now realize that Gothic had reached heights of equal illumination which remained in the Renaissance.

The revolution of Gothic art in Italy that led into the Renaissance took place in a time of unprecented growth of the city-states in Northern Italy such as Florence and Siena, political and cultural rivals. At the same time two new monastic orders arose, the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The Dominicans' purpose was to combat heresy while the Franciscan order asserted the values of charity and poverty, but both built their new churches

in the towns so that religious architecture acquires a civic character. In Florence we have already seen Romanesque buildings in which are Byzantine mosaics. This same Byzantine influence appears throughout the Italian peninsula not as the static, stereotype of art, but Byzantium transformed through Hellenistic influences.

As the Gothic style is reaching the tremendous heights artistically and literally in Northern Europe, in Italy it is paralled by painting that bears Byzantine and Gothic influences best typified in this early Renaissance by the work of three great artists: Cimabue, Duccio, and Giotto. Previously we saw Romanesque fresco paintings while at this time the demand was for panel paintings on wood. The iconography remains the same, but the Crucifix will emerge as an independent art form. Gigantic crucifixes were suspended over choirs and they were used in religious processions. More and more of these paintings were commissioned and bought as the economy began to boom through the expanding commerce. An early panel could be either vertical or horizontal (and occasionly circular), in which there was a central scene with the peripheral area divided into squares, rectangles, or circles to depict the episodes of the life of the main person being portrayed in the larger area. It was a transference of the sculptural programs on the facades of churches to much smaller panels of wood which could be moved easily. These panels, especially if they were complex (a triptych, being three panels and a polyptych, being many panels) resembled architectural constructions. The influences of Hellenistic and Byzantine art continued to influence the three-dimensional models in the same way as they did in Romanesque and Gothic. But we should not confuse Gothic naturalism with Greek naturalism. Greek art always tried to capture the ideal form, while Gothic, although more naturalistic than Romanesque, had as its purpose the emotional impact of the work on the spectator. All of these techniques were used in the Italian Renaissance by the end of the thirteenth century, as we will note by concentrating on the two towns of Florence and Siena. One of the rivalries between these cities was due to Siena's favoring the imperial idea of the Holy Roman Empire, and Florence backing the Papal power in Rome. Because Florence enjoyed a great economic boom along with a great increase in population the Florentines became the Pope's bankers and a second circle of walls was built around the city. The control of Florence rested in the guilds and those who controlled the economy. In this setting we find the three great artists who were the forerunners of the Renaissance in Italy and whom we put in the category of the Early Renaissance since it is they who created a new art. In Italy there was at that time a wild enthusiasm for rearranging old ideas, and the artist emerged as the leader both for his wisdom and his sensitivity.

First we shall look at the art of Cimabue, a gigantic panel in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence which is a tribute to the Virgin, always a very exalted subject. The Madonna is on a throne that resembles something between furniture and architecture. In the arcades below are figures of saints. The Virgin herself seems Byzantine in her stationary pose, while the angels contribute movement to the scene. The tension is created between a rather static dark blue form of the Virgin and the colorful transparency of the wings of the angelic host on either side of her. There is no idea

of space in front of the scene, intensified by the stacking of the angels, who, however, assume naturalistic poses.

Another Cimabue Madonna whose authorship has been disputed is in the Louvre. Here the Virgin has shifted her position while the throne emerges as more three-dimensional, less frontal and more naturalistic in her motherly touching of the right knee of the Child. The Christ-child uses the gestures of a man, and the angels are somewhat theatrical figures inviting you to come in with multicolored wings that are somewhat distracting. The gold background behind the Madonna is a persistent legacy from Byzantium. In a Cimabue crucifix the geometric division of the cross with small icons of the Virgin and St. John opposes the idea of the natural falling of the body of Christ on the cross in the S-curve which is becoming an important characteristic of the present style.

In the second great figure, Duccio of Siena, who lived into the fourteenth century, we have a very independent-minded man, since we have reason to believe that he rebelled against the authoritarianism of the Sienese city-state in its servile allegiance to the Emperor. This independence is very subtly indicated in the revolutionary forms that he created around the surviving ideas of Byzantine and Gothic forms, taking us a step closer to the Renaissance in his spatial explorations.

We will look at the gigantic altarpiece he created for the cathedral in Siena, the *Maestà*, which is composed of many panels and deals with the life of the Virgin and Christ. Once again the Virgin dominates in a humanized way and she remains ever-present in the Italian Renaissance. The front panel is thirteen feet long by seven feet high. The altar portrays traditional iconography but in a new form with the feeling of Sienese mysticism accentuated. The form is new in that the humans seem to be operating in an architectural interior in a sort of box-stage setting in which the forms seem alive as they act out the scenes. One of the most interesting panels of this group is the Frick *Temptation of Christ in the Desert*, an almost surrealist piece in its depiction of the desert as a gigantic rock. The devil here is a cutout, black devil, as if in a shadow play. The Christ is somewhat realistic, gesturing dramatically and firmly to the shadow of the devil, standing among cityscapes against the ever-present gold background. In a panel of *Christ Calling the Apostles*, he is standing on a landscape which is in recession and tilted up for perspective, and again there is some evidence of naturalism in the picture of fishes in the sea. The narrative continues with the *Washing of the Feet*, in which the figures have stances similar to those in Romanesque-Gothic statuary, but the modeling is done through color so that the painting has advanced to the stage of sculpture. The scene of the *Last Supper* helps us understand the reoccurence of the Greek mathematic, harmonic, compositional elements in which the artist creates a vantage point, an axis, for both him and the viewer. In architectural settings the Passion continues until we reach the *Crucifixion*, in which the body of Christ is hanging down as it does in the old art, but more naturally, and in the *Deposition* the faces are quite realistic in their expression while the landscape again suggests recessions in the horizon. When Christ is resurrected and appears at Emmaus, the scene will move into a Sienese city street.

The great Giotto dominates Renaissance art. He does panels but also decorates the Arena Chapel in Padua with frescoes, as well as the church of St. Francis in Assisi, even though the Florentines did not have a tradition of fresco painting. The Madonna by Giotto is different from anything we have seen previously, although the throne resembles an altar and the Madonna is enclosed in the interior Gothic architectural setting away from the angels, who flank her and rest their feet in a realistic pose. Also the gold background is present, but if we note the angels we see that they have moved from the vertical plane to the literal floor plane. Yet Giotto does not dispel entirely the Gothic tradition as evidenced by the traditional formula of angels keeling at the foot of the throne. He may have been about to create a frontal plane, since it is not clear whether the angels are standing in the same plane as those behind them. One apparent difference in this painting is the Madonna herself--she is portrayed as a motherly, queenly, fecund woman with a strong, buxom, heavy physique as she sits on her throne. Giotto uses folds to highlight the body of the child, but it is obvious that he was an innovator in his realistic modeling of the woman. In the fresco scenes from the Arena Chapel in Padua which Giotto painted sometime around 1305 the emotionalism of Giotto is especially caught, notably with the dramatic moment of the Virgin Mother in her blue mantle swooning at the Crucifixion. Vertical rhythm abounds in the *Kiss of Judas,* which highlights the significance of the kiss of death. From the church of St. Francesco in Assisi which relates the story of St. Francis we have a pantheistic vision of the universe with birds and other animals, perhaps done by pupils. Giotto catches the formal elements of nature in their essence in a cubist landscape which is now emerging as natural with cross-sections of rocks and trees. This naturalistic way of handling the work is evident in the composition by the horizon which separates earth from heaven. Also perspective becomes important with the placement of the trees. In the *Sermon to the Birds,* beyond St. Francis who is on the edge of the fresco is a plane which makes a spatial point, while motion is provided by the bird flying down to join the peaceful united scene.

In the summer of 1348 more than half the inhabitants of Siena and Florence died of the Bubonic plague. The impact on the culture was twofold: (1) universal penance ensued with a pessimistic recognition of the triumph of death reverting to the fears of the Middle Ages; (2) the death of some great masters in the plague made possible the faster development and recognition of younger artists. In our continuation of the Italian Renaissance we shall examine three important figures who represent the second phase of the Early Renaissance: Simone Martini, 1285-1344; Masaccio, 1401-1428; and Uccello, 1397-1475.

Simone Martini, a contemporary of Giotto trained in the workshop of Duccio, was similar to Giotto in that he was influenced by French ideas, but differed from him in that he preferred pomp and circumstance more than the older artist, who himself was influenced by forces from Gothic France through the great sculptor, Pisano. This is evident when we look at Simone's work such as the fresco of the *Madonna and Child* in the Siena city hall, whose figures are dressed like French courtiers. Patriotism is very

important at a time when the city-states in Tuscany are warring, and there is considerable rivalry between Siena and Florence, Milan and Florence, and Rome and Florence. In a famous fresco of *Guidoriccio*, also in the city hall, Simone makes perhaps a political statement against chivalry by immortalizing this mercenary savior of the city. The knight is depicted in the decorative tradition with pattern motifs on him as well as his horse. He rides by an encampment on the right, passing between a fortified citadel and a city on a hill to the left. These spatial groupings are put on a different plane by the artist so that we look at it from different points of view, the planes held together by a fence on the lower part of the painting.

The best known picture of Simone is the *Annunciation* now in the Uffizi Gallery of Florence. The gold background merges with the French Gothic decorative tradition of costumes within the pronounced architecture of the frame. The Virgin and the angel have bodies which are designed rather than modeled. The angel, having just flown in according to the movement of his robes, is a French courtier curtsying to the lady. The face of the Virgin is more Oriental than Italian as she appears reluctant. The embossed calligraphy from the mouth of the angel to the ear of the Virgin is the "Hail thou that art full of grace." Simone traveled to Avignon to visit his friend, Petrarch, who wrote on a fly leaf of a Virgil manuscript "What Virgil is to literature, Simone Martini is to painting."

The greatest painter of the first half of the fifteenth century, Masaccio, was a very prolific artist who died at twenty-seven. In the Brancacci Chapel, Sta. Maria del Carmine, is the fresco of the *Expulsion from the Garden*. Masaccio depicted Adam and Eve as tragic figures, the strongest statement in painting at that time. The figures are modeled through color rather than line, using light and shade contrasts to build up weighty bodies.

Next to the *Expulsion* is *The Tribute Money* in which Christ is confronted by a Roman tax collector and says the words, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." Like the figures from the *Expulsion*, the severe young Christ is modeled with his disciples in a group portrait against both a natural background and an architectural setting. Christ gestures commandingly, controlling the emotion by his aloofness. The angry, white-bearded Peter catches a fish on the left for the tax payment. Begrudgingly, Peter gives the money to the hunched, somewhat defensive tax collector. In the same chapel are frescoes of Peter in different situations such as giving alms to the poor and healing with his shadow, which deals with the problem of humans in narrow city-scape perspective. In Sta. Maria Novella we find another great Masaccio fresco, *The Trinity*, 1428. In this Crucifixion Christ's body will be that of a man with the anguish around him taking on human proportions. The painting unites under a coffered barrel vault the Godhead and the Christ through the white patch of the dove of the Holy Spirit, Christ about to be consumed into his anterior substance by a god who is not in eclipse. The scene is closed in by the two donors at the base of the picture. Below is a horizontal skeleton with the inscription, "What I am you shall be." Both Donatello and Brunelleschi, precursors of the Renaissance in architecture and sculpture, recognized the genius of the young artist who would herald the new style in painting.

Born at about the same time as Masaccio, Uccello, considered himself a scientific realist and in the tradition of Alberti, is obsessed with the laws of perspective. First we will look at one of the three stages of his *Battle of San Romano* (1432) which celebrates a Florentine victory over the Sienese. (One panel is now in the Uffizi, while the other two are in the National Gallery, London, and the Louvre.) Here we can detect a division of space through the spears and the banners. Uccello creates tensions through the angles of the spears, intensified by his placement of the horses. In this picture the background is darker than the foreground where the light gives focus to the animals and the humans. He stylizes and abstracts the bodies of the almost floating horses in terms of arcs and lines, while perspective is established by the person running away in the hills.

In London is another Uccello painting, *St. George and the Dragon,* in a kind of parody of the Middle Ages. The princess is an impassive, Burgundian, Gothic cutout, while St. George is a little boy on the horse who is going to rescue her from the smoky, bleeding dragon. There is receding perspective against the diagonal of the horse, while a cloud picks up light to highlight the turmoil of the foreground as opposed to the background. The wings of the dragon are the immortal, all-seeing eyes of a peacock's tail, although the dragon himself depicting brute force, is leashed by the princess. Like the humans, the landscape is both real and surreal.

Piero della Francesca, a Renaissance man, an artist-humanist like Leonardo Da Vinci later, deals with several theoretical questions in art, such as the Albertian idea of one-point perspective mentioned previously, and perhaps more importantly the idea of light in painting. We should keep in mind the evolution from late Gothic through the Renaissance period of the formal treatment of man and landscape. In keeping with these changes Panofsky quotes from Alberti: "The painter must take pains above all that all the parts of a painting agree with each other, and they will do so if in quantity, function, in kind, color, and in all other respects they harmonize into one beauty." Piero della Francesca who was born in 1415 and died in 1492, is a typical humanist. A humanist in the fifteenth century has the inoffensive irony or the arrogance, or perhaps both, to say, "I can create a world." Echoing the new psychology of that time, he takes a very firm position toward the validity of the act of creation. Descartes says in the seventeenth century, "Give me enough thrust and I will create a universe," which in that scientific age is what he literally means, but in the Renaissance there is a return to human values, the core of which is the *agon* of man which illuminates the purpose of life through art. Thus the sun may not be in love with us, but we can snatch its power through an act of the will and the imagination. Piero writes books on perspective and form since he is interested in architecture. Above all, the idea of form in light concerned him. While Masaccio took a step forward when he animated sculptures, making his figures move outside a dark background, Piero tries to decide how to paint bodies both indoors and outdoors in sunlight.

In the *Baptism of Christ* which is in the National Gallery in London the body of Christ in the center is off-white with light reflecting on it and from it. Piero introduces red color patches while the body of Christ is paralleled by an off-white tree as he tries to find out what values certain colors have in various inter-relationships. Meanwhile the reflected light picks up the highlights of the body of Christ which, in the old tradition, would have washed it out under these light conditions. But now, Christ emerges as a luminous body set in a naturally receding perspective so that the tree parallels the verticality of Christ, and movement is added through the stance of St. John and that of the person undressing to be baptized in the background. The strong foreground tree separates the frontal plane which is increasing in depth now. A path winds to the vanishing horizon while a round arch traps the action creating a boundary, which could have been deleted but is not meant to be realistic.

In a cycle of frescoes in S. Francesco of Arezzo Piero deals with the story of the Holy Cross as told in the *Golden Legend*. Tradition says that the tree was planted by Adam's son, Seth, and snatched from the gates of Paradise to appear finally in Jerusalem where it was used for the Cross. When the Queen of Sheba visited Solomon, she saw the tree (which had been cut down to be used in the building of the Temple), and predicted that Christ would bring an end to the Kingdom of the Jews. Also depicted in this group portraiture is the subsequent history of the Cross with Constantine and his mother, St. Helen, as well as other figures, all of whom are assuming different stances but resemble medieval statuary. The Queen of Sheba, like a Renaissance princess, curtseys to Solomon, while the wood of the natural-looking trees picks up the hues of the landscape. As with Uccello's paintings, the attendants are dressed in Italian costumes, while the horses are portrayed quite naturally. Beginning the story with the death of Adam surrounded by Michelangelesque figures, Piero depicts Seth rushing to the gates of Paradise to snatch a sprig from the tree of knowledge, arriving to his dying father too late. In these paintings the artist again seems to be concentrating on what effect natural light has on forms.

Finally in the Renaissance the cult of beauty became an activity worthy in its own right which could lead to the revelation of the good or of God. As all social systems have as their purpose the idea of justice, as intellectual systems have as their aim the pursuit of the truth, so the creation of visual art or poetry has as its aim, beauty. Botticelli painted the *Primavera* which has been considered a depiction of the coming of spring, although it was to depict actually the alliance between good and beautiful in an annunciation. Hence, these delicate, poetic figures in Botticelli's *Primavera* become, through beauty and goodness, a means to God. As we look at this work we see Zephyr, the god of wind, blowing Flora, earth goddess, into an entity. We watch Flora in the process of transformation touching the earth. In an announcement of the new spring and the new age, Primavera, under archways of branches and somewhat pregnant, proclaims the coming of Christ by the dance of lovely elongated graces. At the other end is Mercury, patron of the graces and messenger of the gods, backing away with his attention distracted while Cupid is unleashing an arrow. In philosophical

fashion Botticelli created another painting which may have hung in the same room, the *Birth of Venus*. Here the winds blow from the other direction while Venus, once again goddess of love in a classical and baptismal stance, is born out of Ouranos, god of heaven, presenting a sophisticated statement about the creative force and humanization of love. All of the forms are stylized with the langorous humans made strong by the hard line.

Another painting by Botticelli is *Venus and Mars*, in London. Mars reclines at one end, conquered no doubt by Venus, war conquered by love. Also there is an astrological connection between Venus and Mars, and Venus, in this case, aloof, beautiful, has triumphed. Little satyrs wearing helmets are running away after stealing the spear in a kind of parody. But for one brief moment love and war have come together in a glorification of the bodies, since the Renaissance idealized the body, but also the spirit.

Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519) was a sculptor, painter, architect, engineer, botanist, geologist, geographer, pioneer in optics, hydraulics and aerodynamics. He seemed driven to know the answer to everything and to have a record of all that goes into making an object, whether it be a man or a rock formation. In his theoretical approach to phenomena he was very much a Greek, but unlike the Greeks, he excluded nothing from his attention in trying to understand man in general. His art includes the deformed as well as the beautiful, the crippled as well as the strong. His vision encompassed all that the world had to offer. As soon as his genius foresaw the resolution of a problem, Da Vinci might shift his interest to something else. The artist must be guided by the same laws that govern nature. These laws "force the mind of the painter to transform itself into nature's own mind, and to become the interpreter between nature and art." Leonardo knew that Nature's work was never finished.

The product of a union between a peasant girl and a bourgeois father, Leonardo was an illegitimate child. Freud suggests that the idea obsessed him throughout his entire life. In 1483 he was sent to Verrocchio's workshop, where Botticelli had also apprenticed. We owe to Da Vinci the high place accorded to painting in the Renaissance. Giving painting precedence over poetry and music, he made the eye the superior organ. "The deity which invests the science of the painter functions in such a way that the mind of the painter is transformed into a copy of the divine mind, since it operates freely in creating the many kinds of animals, plants, fruits, landscapes, countrysides, ruins and awe-inspiring places."

Da Vinci's *Annunciation* in the Uffizi, painted about 1473, is an example of his early art. The Roman sepulchre is rendered in very high fidelity, the botany is accurate. Much emotion is generated and the atmosphere is charged with mystery and stillness. Here he merges the notion of the appearance of form from a dark background with forms bathed in light. The Madonna's face is almost totally illuminated. She is set against a landscape of reflected early morning light that leaves no harsh shadows. Her thighs are magnificently described while the deep folds of her robes are heightened by the great recession of the Roman marble. The angel which

curtseys to the Madonna is not an effete courtier, unlike the Simone Martini angel. The background must be the merging of various geological forms by Da Vinci which he crushes through a light that renders them magical. At the same time every detail is noted, creating the impression of tactile art.

Da Vinci did not paint many paintings. *The Adoration of the Magi* in a preliminary drawing was to place architecture in a more predominant place. In the painting the dynamism of the scenes relegates the architecture to the background. In the *Virgin of the Rocks* (one in London and one in the Louvre) there is a fascination with painting people pyramidally but with each participant retaining his essence. The palette is softer in the Louvre Madonna. Although the paintings are greatly discolored, we can imagine the transitions of flesh-coloration and the detail of the human and natural forms. As light shines out of the darkness, the deep shadows give to the scene a dreamy quality. In *The Virgin and Saint Anne* the pyramid of figures intersects the misty landscape, atomically exploding in low key. Here he moves the figures out and the lamb, symbol of the older art, seems so much a part of the magic even though the intrusion of such symbolism might seem jarring. The Virgin is sitting on the lap of Saint Anne in an integration of human forms.

The *Last Supper* (1495-1498) in the Refectory, Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Milan, is a great departure from anything that had been done before. The *Last Supper*, so stylized in tradition, was viewed by Da Vinci as a spatial problem and a psychological question, signaled by Thomas the Doubter. The essence of the personality of each disciple as described in the New Testament is caught here. Judas is not turned into the culprit. Leonardo has merged him in the triangle with St. John, but Judas' face is the only one in shadow. Da Vinci dared put him to the right of Christ, and through the psychology of light and dark identified him. All of the hands reinforce both the movement of the scene and the individual personalities of this group portrait set against group planes. There is an explosive force emanating from each individual as he operates with the controlled spatial arrangement. Gone are the previous preoccupations with illusionistic or geometric depiction of space. Leonardo takes all of these realities and synthesizes them to give a multi-point of view composition in which the participants conform to "ideal" forms in a composition that defies human optical analysis. Supper, sacrament, altar compound the mystery of the reality.

The *Mona Lisa* is probably the best known painting in the world, primarily because the art of Da Vinci in this portrait reaches such a high point. Viewed slightly from below we see the quizzical smile, the landscape that does not match, taking our eye to the mysterious horizons. The painting raises as many questions as it answers. It is a portrait, to be sure, but also a human landscape against the natural landscape. It is perhaps also an androgynous form, a search to universalize the human state. Very great art has inexhaustible meanings. The marvel of Da Vinci is that in a portrait which some painters did not consider the highest of visual forms, he is achieving all of those levels of meaning which other painters could only achieve through complex, mythological and classical scenes.

The great artist of the sixteenth century who will dominate the entire century is Michelangelo (1475-1564). While Da Vinci died in 1519, Michelangelo lived well beyond that terrible rumbling of the European consciousness manifested in the wars of religion. Just as Europe had before found spiritual liberation when antiquity met Christianity, so Christianity tore itself apart as Protestant fought Catholic and Catholic fought Protestant. It was a pessimistic moment in human history, while the art of this time disclosed the souls of tortured men.

As a young man Michelangelo found inspiration in both Donatello and the Roman past. He attempted to liberate essence from matter and to disengage a hidden form rather than to superimpose a form onto matter. During his young life he painted little. In fact, he once said that the nearer painting approaches sculpture, the better it is, and that sculpture is worse the nearer it approaches painting. In an age of theoreticians these formulations were battered around quite often, but Michelangelo himself devoted his time to art rather than to theory.

When he was seventeen years old Michelangelo sculpted a dense and violent piece, *The Lapiths and the Centaurs*, in which the antique subject matter in the Renaissance once again pits man against beast. He uses pagan ideas in his study of Bacchus, the god of wine, revealing that after the nobility of classicism and the salvation of Christianity great subject matter is still pagan. In these pieces he attacks matter immediately, causing these forms to emerge from the stone. He was also under twenty when he did one of his few reliefs, *Madonna and Child*, or *Madonna of the Stairs*, as well as his only wood sculpture, *Christ on the Cross*. The latter has reminiscences of Botticelli in the langorous feeling of the face of Christ who is nude, a work done perhaps in mourning for the death of Giuliano in 1492.

In St. Peter's, Rome is his first great sculpture, the famous *Pietà*, in which the Madonna looks younger than Christ, the son she is holding. This is his only signed work since a rumor was circulating declaring that someone else had done it and he wanted to affirm his authorship. Michelangelo's perception is constantly of the full form. Also we might think of the evolution of the concepts of man as well as form when we remember that the paganism of the Bacchus represents the other side of heroism.

Another *Madonna and Child* is set on an altar in a church in Bruges, a beautiful medieval town in Belgium near Ghent or Gand. Here the Virgin's left arm encompasses the standing "hercules." In Florence we can see a later *Pietà* which is somewhat unfinished with Nicodemus, perhaps a self-portrait of Michelangelo. The lines are softened and the drama highlighted... "that strong effigy in frozen music." Although Michelangelo thought of himself first and foremost as a sculptor, he is obviously a painter of great genius as well as an excellent architect.

Michelangelo did several Davids in his lifetime, the greatest of which was done in 1501-1504, fourteen feet high, conceived as a sculpture against the north transept of Florence cathedral. This *David* sums up all that is the Renaissance in a gigantic synthesis of the hero who is both

religious, reflecting the Old Testament heritage, and mythological, reflecting the classical heritage. After a great deal of debate as to where he should be placed (advised by Da Vinci), the sculpture was situated poorly, showing only the front rather than a total view. By the nineteenth century it was moved indoors since the marble was losing its finish. As we proceed in The Accademia, through the arches toward *David* who is well-lit we catch the essence of a Renaissance man, powerful, thoughtful, called by God, charismatic and mystic, realizing his full potential. *David* describes a man who has become superman, a hero as Greek heroes never were.

Also in Florence are the tombs of the Medici which have been assessed by some scholars to be a summation of all kinds of philosophical ideas, mainly neo-Platonic. Time and landscape are rendered figuratively, if we study the components of the tombs.

One of the few paintings of Michelangelo is the circular painting of the *Holy Family*, the circle creating spatial tension. This tension which is also psychological is resolved by Michelangelo through the wall of the diameter beyond which we see athletic figures, emphasizing the circularity of the motion and the sculptural mass of the human groupings.

The great work of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, commissioned by Pope Julius II, the Pericles of his age, is immense in its range. Initially the Pope wanted the twelve apostles represented as poor, but Michelangelo wanted them portrayed as heroic. Finally the Pope let him work as he wanted and the artist integrated Biblical history on the vast vault against which he created a *Last Judgment*. In this work he set iconographic forms for Biblical portrayals and implanted them in the minds of generations to come. It is an achievement that is both lyrical and emotionally strong, a kind of atomic explosion of landscape as in Da Vinci. It reflects perhaps Julius' heroism in marshalling forces to fight the French who were invading Italy at this time in a reoccurence of the old theme--the barbarians coming to be dazzled by the splendors of civilization. A heroic Godhead wearing a short tunic is about to touch his creation, Adam. This is one of the most serene and compassionate moments of art history done by the hands of a man who thought a great deal about the human condition. And yet the two fingers do not touch. In the cataclysm of the *Last Judgment*, apocryphal and apocalyptic, Christ returns as a hero in neo-romanesque iconography to reward the good and punish the evil as destruction is occuring all around while people battle for salvation. While this is a Last Judgment which the Middle Ages had never seen in its ferocity, the disposition of the space and the divisions remind us of early Medieval tympana and judgments. Christ is portrayed out of the early Christian tradition now appearing to reestablish the value system of the early church.

Raphael, who lived to be thirty-seven, was the idol of Rome, even though he did not have the genius and inventiveness of the great Leonardo or the great Michelangelo. While Michelangelo was a Florentine and a great patriot (most of the great Florentines were patriots of their city), Raphael was from Rome and since he was given commissions in the Vatican he worked there primarily. Raphael would look at the work of Michelangelo at night

while the great artist was painting the Sistine ceiling, so we note that he was influenced by the sculptural notions of Michelangelo. His talent was recognized very early, and it is to him that we owe the stereotype of the Madonna and Child.

In the *Alba Madonna*, National Gallery, Washington D.C., the Virgin reads a book, her diaphanous sleeve revealing a hand modeled in light and shade. The atmosphere is still and the light is clear. In the foreground is the serenity of a human grouping against a background which is the vanishing perspective landscape of the Renaissance. The circular or semi-circular composition that Raphael does so often is due to his conditioning by painting arched walls in the Vatican in his many assignments there. The figures are serene and aloof as if humanity is almost outside of time and space. Gone are the psychological revelations of gestures from the eyes and the lips of a Da Vinci. Gone are the tensions of a Michelangelo. Unlike Da Vinci figures these of Raphael are more herculean and statuesque. There is use of the receding horizon and the landscape is not the magical landscape of Da Vinci but a literal compressed landscape as seen by selective normal vision. The *Alba Madonna* brings together in a circular composition many of the implicit theories of Raphael. By definition any circular painting will increase the tensions because of the edges which can become convex, concave, causing the space to recede or come out. Raphael balances these forces by balancing the forms in this serene composition, as we note the rectangle at the base of the pyramid with the circle within the circle placed here also. Every detail in nature is painted here as the Child is on the Madonna's knee, part of his left knee on her lap, while his other knee gestures toward St. John taking him away from her. The detail is observed in the left sleeve of the Madonna, the finger in the book, the sandal and the flowers. As before when the balancing of compositional forces was achieved in the background, now it is done through the arrangement of masses in the foreground. In the *Alba Madonna* both the arrangement of colors and the composition create a cool world and yet it is the work of a master.

The great fresco of Raphael, *The School of Athens*, in the Vatican demonstrates his own rendering of perspective as well as the balancing of color harmonies along with a great idea of the Renaissance at its peak: Plato, the older man, modeled perhaps after Leonardo Da Vinci, holding the book of the *Timaeus*, which is Plato's cosmology; discussing with his pupil, Aristotle, Plato is pointing to heaven and the spiritual, while Aristotle, holding the *Ethics*, points to the earth and the realm of the real, terror and virtue. Hovering under the sign of ancient statuary, every character in this painting can be researched. such as the forlorn figure on the steps, the brooding Michelangelo. The groups of people are absorbed into the perspective of the painting and highlighted by the distant arch in a tour de force with everything locked together geometrically. There are receding half circles within the great semi-circle, and vertical divisions as well as the placing of a rectangle in the space under the tunnel vaulting within the wall space, solving both spatial and scale problems. The human figures are linked, as in Da Vinci's *Last Supper*, through gesture. Part of the decor is statuary which parallels the stances of real people in this work that is Raphael's own synthesis of what may have been the problem of modeling figures à la Michelangelo in a setting that sums up many of the Renaissance theories on perspective.

XI. THE RENAISSANCE IN THE NORTH

In assessing the Renaissance of the North we will first consider the art of Jan Van Eyck who is credited with inventing oil paint, although actually he perfected its luminosity to reveal worlds beneath the surface world. In a chapel of the St. Bavon Cathedral in Ghent is a giant altarpiece, *The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb,* its largest panel measuring fifteen by eleven and one-half feet, which was painted around 1425-32. In the exterior architectural setting, which is viewed when the altarpiece is closed, Van Eyck placed several figures done very naturalistically and with enormous attention to detail: two donors, a man and his wife; John the Evangelist and John the Baptist; the Annunciating angel and the Virgin, topped by the Sibyls and two prophets, Zacharias and Micheas. If we view the polyptych open it is in part an apocalyptic vision, the dominant theme being the Adoration of the Lamb whose heart is bleeding. Here the old iconographic questions remain the same. If we read the polyptych from left to right or from top to bottom the idea of the Trinity is dominant. The group of personages consists of the following: the Christ Godhead, a Moissaic-like Assyrian Jehovah; a queenly Mary on his right; St. John the Baptist on his left. This Deësis we have seen previously in Byzantine and medieval compositions. On the extreme left is a Latin-looking, nude Adam while above him is the offering of Cain and Abel; on the extreme right is a disheveled Flemish-Gothic, nude Eve with Cain killing Abel above her. There is a contrast between the statuesque Mary and the literalism of the Eve. Between the Adam and Mary and between St. John and Eve are musician angels, all without wings. In the panels below surrounding the Adoration of the Lamb are the Just Judges with the Crusaders. The judges are a curious intrusion because fifteenth-century judges were notoriously corrupt. The irony of this panel is that the original was stolen and the present one is a copy. Also we think of the crusaders as militants who gave their lives for their religion as well as becoming quickly perverted in their mission to the Holy Land. Summing up this panoramic vision of the Christian universe is the sacrifice of the Apocalyptic Lamb on the altar whose bleeding heart squirts his blood into a chalice, which is adorned by saints, pilgrims, ecclesiastics, and martyred virgins. In the minutely described landscape, which does not observe one-point perspective, the Holy Ghost radiates rays which connect the humans with the Mover much like the rays in a Vézelay tympanum, while the angels carry instruments of the passion and a cross to the left of the lamb. Van Eyck seems to have conceived of his painting as a synthesis of creation based on minute observation of reality with the individual details blown up from the miniature. There is no tragic sense about the scene although the

theme is that of the redemption through the symbolic lamb. Doubling with this theme of sacrifice is the fountain of life in the foreground which might also denote a symbol of regeneration. The forms are colorful, majestic, monumental, and what strikes one about this group portrait is the angels singing on the left. Their expressions do not conform to the tone of the rest of the painting, seeming to have been caught off-guard in an informal grimace. The other group of angels on the right conforms more to the solemnity of a religious painting. The standing Adam is a male nude which was done almost a hundred years before Michelangelo glorified the human body. If the viewer looks at the polyptych from top to bottom the Holy Ghost is interceding between the Godhead and the Mystic Lamb, but if one reads it from left to right the intercessory area is the Deësis such as the one we saw at Hagia Sophia. The Godhead is crowned with a papal tiara glittering with jewels just as Mary, the Queen of Heaven, is bejewelled to his right. With the background in gold there is the traditional blue dress for the Virgin and green for the Baptist. Mediterranean vegetation appears in this painting influenced by the travels of Van Eyck in service of the Burgundian dukes. In the central panels the Holy Virgins proceed toward the Mystic Lamb which is medieval symbolism surviving in the late Gothic Middle Ages in the north. The date of this polyptych, 1432, is significant in that it was at that time that the Italians were discussing theory, while Van Eyck seems to be solving spatial problems naturally and directly without concern for theory.

In Van Eyck's *Annunciation* which is in the National Gallery in Washington D.C. we have a Romanesque-Gothic interior with the three windows behind the Virgin representing the Trinity. While the annunciating angel comes to Mary there is the same calligraphy going from the lips to the ears of Mary as we saw previously in the Simone Martini. The letters of Mary's answer are upside down since they are meant for only God to read. The Gothic first stage signifies the realization of the New Testament through the Old which is the upper Romanesque stage.

In the National Gallery, London, is one of Van Eyck's most well-known paintings, *The Arnolfini Marriage*, with "Jan Van Eyck was here" signing the portrait done in 1434. Panofsky concludes that this work is much more than a marriage portrait, that it is a painting acting as a marriage document since common law accepted the validity of a private ceremony not performed in a church. The man who affords the commission is portrayed as he probably was, a sallow-faced Italian banker living in Bruges. His wife was a Paris-born Italian. Both are dressed sumptuously--the man in a very expensive beaver hat and a purple tunic which is edged in fur and reaches to mid-calf, and the woman with a laced-edged headpiece and a green high-waisted dress with large sleeves trimmed in fur. She gathers yards unto her, creating the effect of an unlimited amount of texture. While the Italians idealized beauty, Van Eyck only notes it. The man looks down and raises his right hand to take the oath of marriage after he has removed his clogs to signify the humility of the solemn ceremony. The light which illuminates everything softly comes from the left of the room. Along with the little dog which represents faithfulness there is fruit by the window to symbolize the richness of the earth. The one candle symbolizes the eye of God watching over the ceremony. In the convex mirror

we see the backs of the couple along with the artist himself and their witness, both extending and interlocking the space. The household is a reverent one with the medallions on the mirror as stations of the cross. On the nuptial bed is a statuette of St. Margaret while just below the headboard is a broom symbolizing the domestic duties of the woman. The date, 1434, is written on the wall beside the signature.

Van der Weyden, with whom Van Eyck is compared many times, is more of a designer, a structuralist. While Van Eyck observed detail and confronted the painting directly, Van der Weyden is much more of a builder or sculptor of forms. Van Eyck, seeming to derive a great pleasure from the surface of things, is like Da Vinci in accepting the entire world as his book which he observes. Van der Weyden on the other hand is more intellectual, an inventor of plastic forms whose style is controlled and austere. His work indicates that he thought about the interrelations of things in space. Many of the paintings, such as Van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross,* found their way to Spanish museums from the Low Countries where Spain controlled politically in the sixteenth century. Hence we find this work in the Prado museum in Madrid. It was done by Van der Weyden as a rather young man and one can see the Gothic attention to detail and the humanism of Van Eyck transposed to the sculpting of figures in their natural surroundings with an indication of their weight. There is a tragic dimension to the scene, a synthesis of elegance, naturalism and pathos, which would be absent from Van Eyck. Mary Magdelen is on the extreme right, lyrically circling her arms, with John hovering over the Virgin who is swooning on the left. Her stance parallels that of the Son who is dead. In one of the most moving paintings of the Crucifixion we see the nail mark on the right hand of Christ, his hand parallel to the beautiful, graceful left hand of the Virgin. There is a slight hesitation about how the body of Christ is held, since the passive stances on either side move against the weight of the body coming down from the Cross. The Virgin's position, while almost the same as Christ's, is resting on the ground surrounded by folds and the reappearing symbols of death. The women in the portrait are Netherlandish, their hands together creating the only design tension in these serene sculptural faces.

In Beaune, Burgundy, is the *Last Judgment* altarpiece with Christ on a rainbow elipse and Michael below him with the scale. The background is gold while the scene is apocalyptic once again with the elect which will be raised form the tombs on Judgment Day. With an aloof Peter and the Virgin watching the scene, there is no divine intervention. The elect and the despairing are microcosmic.

Representing the other pole of Netherlandish painting is Bosch who died in 1516, the year in which More's *Utopia* was published. His famous work, the triptych of *The Garden of Earthly Delights,* is anti-Utopian, the other side of paradise. Beginning with the creation of Adam and Eve in the Garden it goes from warm tones of pinks and pale blues to the cold tone of a blackish hell, all the colors being symbolic obviously. Bosch has been written about by many scholars who would say that he was devout and that through his presentation of depravity he sought the flowers of good. He came from the well-to-do class and was a member of a lay brotherhood. He designed glass windows and probably made masks and costumes since he acted

in plays also. Many scholars insist that he was a mystic who presented his view of life didactically through his "dream-world." He may have been secretly a member of a Gnostic or alchemical sect. During his time, the latter half of the fifteenth century, it was common in the North to follow a rather licentious course of life compared to the previous system of values. Not only were the churches, religious festivals and pilgrimages full of indecorous behavior but alchemy was rampant, although the church attempted to outlaw it. Bosch emerges as the great genius of this period in his attempt perhaps to reconcile the conflicts. Through his art he sublimated the rantings of the preachers on the eve of the Reformation as well as the obsession with hell in the disintegrating medieval culture.

This largest, and perhaps greatest of his works is now in the Prado museum. The first of the three panels contains a fountain of youth surrounded by a leopard carrying a rat, a hyena, an elephant, a giraffe, a unicorn, all of which are ambiguous symbols. The layout of the center and left panels is symmetrical, the elements in both balanced within the bounds of the frame while on the right panel they are not. Along with the birds in the left panel the total presents a sort of encyclopedia of natural history by one of the first great landscapists in art. In the central panel all hell, literally, is about to break loose. Berries and cherries symbolize sensual delights. It is both an encyclopedia of natural history and an encyclopedia of humanity perhaps like the one on the Vézelay tympanum. Among blacks and whites are broken eggs from which emerge humans, the idea of the egg meaning a perfect form. He suggests that it is better to shatter the egg and liberate life than to preserve it as a perfect form which might be suffocating. He continues presenting animal figures with an owl, a symbol of Satan and heresy, while a man is about to be attacked by a rat. There are nesting birds between the legs of an upturned man. The animal world is not smaller than the world of the humans. Is it a pantheistic vision or a primitive imagination? Nevertheless, everything is well-designed. The pink and red signify love while the dark shades of blue mean deceit. The wolves, lions, rats depict disease and deceit, while the butterfly is fickleness and the monkey is lust. The grapes and pomegranates are sensual delights as well as symbols of the alchemist. Perhaps we can understand why some scholars interpret it as an affirmative statement, the presence of evil implying the presence of good. Another theory is that Bosch as a member of the Gnostic sect called the Adamites accepted that depravity was the way to salvation, an idea propounded by some eastern cults. The people of the Middle Ages often believed that demons could be trapped by a glass vial, which is something also attributed to Buddha. The right panel becomes a musical hell as we see a harp on which a man is crucified. There is also the crescent which is the symbol of Islam and therefore heresy. The symmetry here seems to break down as the harp against the lute is an arbitrary design. A great monster appears enthroned, crowned with an iron cask. With a dissected ear and a burning city in the background there is perhaps an ironic self-portrait of Bosch watching the proceedings of this other side of paradise under a disc supporting a bagpipe.

Another work by Bosch is the *Last Judgment* in Bruges which seems to predict the great upheaval of the religious wars in the Reformation period with people riding on blades upside down and total devastation everywhere.

A complementary vision of the world of Bosch exists in the world of Bruegel who lived half a century after him. Without didactic commentary the peasant dancers now create a rhythm of life in this society. But he indicates the obsession of the European mind with death in his dances of death and the various ways of dying in the aftermath of the wars of religion. One of his great works is the *Triumph of Death* in the Prado in Madrid which is a kind of ship of fools, a boat of the dead (the voyage of Columbus in reverse), among hangings, bestialities, miserliness, and gambling on life and death. An analogous statement is made much later by Katherine Ann Porter in a most damning and meaningful statement of the anguish of the human condition in our century.

Finally we come to the powerful work of the German artist, Grünewald, whose life paralleled the Reformation since he was born around 1470 and died in 1528. Probably secretly a devout Lutheran, his greatest work is the *Isenheim Altarpiece* in the Museum Unterlinden, Colmar. Grünewald owes little to the formal Italian or to the Northern European traditions. If we interpret Bosch as opening up the mind to depravity, Grünewald depicts the world of suffering. The center of the altarpiece is a scene of the Crucifixion, one of the most tragic that has ever been painted. It is surrounded by a pathetic Mary Magdalen and Mary in a swoon being held by John the Baptist. Mary is portrayed with German realism which is closer to the naturalism of the Flemish masters than to the Marys of the Italians. In other positions of the polyptych is an angelic concert, an Annunciation, a Madonna and Child, and the temptation of St. Anthony by medieval monsters who are representing devils in the desert and may emerge victorious. If we return to the actual scene of the Crucifixion we are transfixed by the grotesque detail of the actual death. The words of J.-K. Huysmans about another Grünewald crucifixion are applicable here:

> The face was cavernous, the forehead drawn, the cheeks drained of blood; all the sunken features had a tearful look, while the mouth stretched open in a grin, the jaw contracted in atrocious tetanic spasms...The pain had been appalling, and the death-agony so fearful that it had terrified the jeering executioners into flight...Now, against a sky of midnight blue, the cross seemed to be bowing very low...It was indeed a far cry from the debonaire Golgothas...This tetanic Christ was not the Christ of the Rich, the Adonis of Galilee, the healthy young fop, the handsome boy with the ruddy locks...This was the Christ of St. Basil, Tertullian, the Christ of the Early Church, a Christ who looked vulgar and ugly because he took upon himself all the sins of the world and assumed, in his humility, the most abject of appearances... This was the Christ of the Poor, A Christ that had become flesh in the likeness of the most wretched of those he had come to redeem...

This picture of Christ, dead in body and soul, seems to suggest that he will not live again, but John the Baptist points determinedly to the proceedings in contradiction to the logic of time, accompanied by a bleeding and cross-hugging lamb. And yet in any great artist the final statement cannot

be possible. The concentration of the attacker on the attack position will show little effect from the dead, owing to the fact that the whole of the attacker's army is not brought into action at once, but is brought into a part of the whole in succession, concentrated on a point of that against a single point. And it is by this means that the small number can on the right and there can be nothing beyond it.

These notes concern a skirmish between the Armies that surround the Nation Capital and have a significant role in the Campaign of the Year between the Four Factions for Control of the Capital.

The translation of the *Pilgrim's Guide to Saint-James of Compostela* is from the Vielliard edition that is based on the Compostela and Ripoll manuscripts.

Pope Innocent II ascribes the authorship of the *Guide* to Aimery Picaud. Parthenay-le-Vieux is a town west of Poitiers. Its Romanesque church dedicated to St. Peter has a symmetrical facade on the first stage with two lateral blind portals. In the left tympanum is a Constantinian equestrian figure that is common in that region (Melle, St. Jouin-de-Marnes, Airvault, Civray, Aulnay, Poitiers--fresco in Baptistery; in the right portal is Samson battling the lion. The Mélusine fairy appears on an archivolt of the central portal. Carvings from another Romanesque church in the Parthenay area, Notre-Dame-la-Couldre, may be seen in the Gardner Museum, Boston.

APPENDIX

THE PILGRIM'S GUIDE TO SAINT-JAMES OF COMPOSTELA

Book V of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*

(Codex Calixtinus)

By Aimery Picaud of Parthenay-le-Vieux

1173

Here Begins the Fourth Book of Saint James the Apostle

Assertion by the Blessed Pope Calixtus

If the instructed reader seeks truth in our volumes, let him know he may rest secure in this book, without a scruple of a doubt. For what is written here many yet living will testify to be true.

CHAPTER

I. ON THE ROADS TO SAINT JAMES.

II. ON THE STAGES OF THE APOSTLE'S ROAD.

III. ON THE NAMES OF THE TOWNS ON THIS ROUTE.

IV. ON THE THREE GOOD HOSPICES OF THE WORLD.

V. ON THE NAMES OF THE PERSONS WHO MADE THE ROADS TO SAINT JAMES.

VI. ON THE BITTER AND SWEET WATER ON THIS ROUTE.

VII. ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES ON THIS ROUTE.

VIII. ON THE BODIES OF THE SAINTS TO BE SEEN ON THIS ROUTE, AND ON THE PASSION OF SAINT EUTROPIUS.

IX. ON THE CHARACTER OF THE STATE AND CHURCH OF SAINT JAMES.

X. ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF OFFERINGS AT THE ALTAR OF SAINT JAMES.

XI. ON RECEIVING PILGRIMS TO SAINT JAMES WORTHILY.

I. ON THE ROADS TO SAINT JAMES OF COMPOSTELA.

Four roads lead to Saint James and merge into one at Puente la Reina in Spanish territory. One road starts by way of Saint-Gilles (or Arles), Montpellier, Toulouse and the Somport Pass, another by Notre-Dame du Puy, Saint-Flour, Conques and Saint-Pierre de Moissac, another passes through Saint-Martin-de-Tours, Sainte-Madeleine de Vézelay, Paray-le-Monial en Limousin and the city of Perigueux, and the last goes by way of Sainte-Marie de Tours, Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers, Saint-Jean d'Angely, Saint-Eutrope de Saintes and the city of Bordeaux. The road which passes through Sainte-Foy, the road by Saint-Léonard and the road by Saint-Martin join at Ostabat, and after crossing the pass of Cize, join the

IV. ON THE THREE HOSPICES OF THE WORLD.

The Lord has set in this world three pillars truly needed to sustain His poor: these are the hospice of Jerusalem, and the Hospice of Mont-Joux, and the hospice of Sainte-Christine on the Somport. These hospices are established in places where they are necessary. They are holy spots, houses of God, refreshment for blessed pilgrims, repose for the needy, comfort for the sick, salvation for the dead, sustenance for the living. These are sacred places therefore, and whoever shall build one shall without doubt possess the kingdom of God.

V. ON THE NAMES OF PERSONS WHO MADE THE ROAD TO SAINT JAMES.

These are the names of certain travellers who in the time of Diego, Archbishop of Saint James, and Aldefonso, Emperor of Spain, and of Pope Calixtus, repaired the road to Saint James from Rabanal to the bridge over the Miño, in pious love of God and the Apostle, before the year 1120, in the reign of Aldefonso, King of Aragon, and Louis the Fat, King of France: Andre, Roger, Avit, Fortus, Arnault, Etienne and Pierre, who rebuilt the bridge over the Mino which was destroyed by Queen Hurraca. May their souls and those of their helpers rest in eternal peace!

VI. ON THE GOOD AND BAD RIVERS ON THE ROUTE TO SAINT JAMES. BY POPE CALIXTUS.

These are the rivers which are to be met between the passes of Cize and Somport and Saint James. From the Somport flows a pure river, called the Aragon, which waters Spain. From the pass of Cize springs a pure river called by many the Runa, which flows through Pamplona. By Puente la Reina flow both the Arga and the Runa. At a place called Lorca, towards the east, runs a river called the Salt River; you must keep this from your mouth and that of your horse as the river is deadly. As we went to Saint James we met two men of Navarre sitting down on its banks and sharpening their knives; they were accustomed to skin those of the pilgrims' beasts which drink the water and die. When we asked them they lied and said the water was wholesome to drink, so we gave it to our horses. Two of them died on the spot, and the men skinned them.

By Stella flows the river Ega, of sweet water, pure and excellent. Through the village called Arcos flows a deadly river and beyond Arcos near the first hospice, that is to say, between Arcos and the hospice

flows a river deadly to beasts and men who drink it. By the village called Turres in the territory of Navarre, flows a river deadly to beasts and men who drink it. From there to a village called Covas is another lethal river. By Logroño runs a great river, the Ebrus, which is sweet and abounds with fish. All the streams encountered between Stella and Logrono are deadly to drink both for men and beasts, and the fish in them are considered deadly to eat. The fish commonly called the barbel, and the fish which the men of Poitou call the *alosa* and the Italians call *clipia*, as well as the eel and tench, you must not eat anywhere in Spain or Galicia, or you will without doubt die quickly or become ill. If anyone has eaten one of these and not become ill, then either he was healthier than other people or had lived in the country a long time. All the fish, beef and pork in the whole of Spain and Galicia make foreigners ill.

The rivers which are sweet and wholesome to drink are commonly called by the following names: the Pisuerga, which runs under the bridge of Itera; the Carrion, which runs by Carrion (de los Condes); the Cea by Sahagun; the Esla by Mansilla; the Porma, which is crossed by a great bridge between Mansilla and Léon; the Torio, which runs by Léon under the camp of the Jews; the Bernesgua by the same town on the other side toward Astorga; the Sil by Ponferrada, in a green valley; the Cira by Cacabelos; the Burbia running under the bridge of Villafranca; the Carcera which flows in the Valcarce; the Miño, flowing under the Miño bridge; and a certain river in a wooded spot two miles from Saint James, called the Lavamentula, or Wash-parts since French pilgrims on the way to Saint James are accustomed to wash not only their private parts there, but their whole bodies of grime, for love of the Apostle, stripping themselves naked. The river Sar which flows between the Monte del Gozo and the city of Saint James is considered wholesome; also the Sarela stream, which runs on the other side of the city, on the west, is called wholesome.

I have described these rivers so pilgrims setting out for Saint James may know to avoid drinking those which are deadly, and choose those which are wholesome both for themselves and their beasts.

VII. ON THE NAMES OF THE COUNTRIES AND THE CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES ENCOUNTERED ON THE ROAD TO SAINT JAMES.

On the way to Saint James by the Toulouse route, after crossing the Garonne, you come first to Gascon territory, and then having crossed the Somport, the country of Aragon, and then the territory of Navarre, running to the Arga bridge and beyond. By the track over the pass of Cize, after Tours, you come to a land which is fertile, good and rich in every way, the territory of Poitou. The men of Poitou are great heroes and warriors, skilled with bow and arrow and lance in war, daring in battle, swift in the chase, elegant in dress, handsome in appearance, witty in speech, generous with money, in hospitality lavish.

Next you come to the land of the Saintonge, and the, after crossing an arm of the sea and the river Garonne, to the territory of Bordeaux, where there are excellent wine and abundant fish, but the speech is provincial. The men of Saintonge are boorish in language, but the men of Bordeaux are admitted to be even more so. To cross the country of Bordeaux takes three days if you are tired. It is a country lacking all produce such as bread, wine, meat and fish; it is empty of rivers and springs, has few towns and is flat and sandy, but it is well provided with honey, millet, panic grass or Italian millet, and swine. If you happen to cross the country in summer, be careful to keep your face protected from the gigantic flies which swarm there, commonly called *guespae,* wasps, or *tavones,* gad-flies. And unless you watch your step carefully, you will quickly sink to the knees in the seaside quicksand which is common there.

After crossing this country, you arrive in Gascony which is rich in white bread and pure springs. The Gascons are quick of tongue, wordy, mocking and lecherous, are drunkards and prodigal eaters, badly clothed and poor, but are accustomed to war and distinguished for their hospitality toward the poor. They are used to sitting around the fire, eating without a table and all freely drinking from one cup. They eat and drink copiously, are clad badly; and, in a disgraceful manner, servants with master and mistress all sleep together on a meager heap of rotten straw.

On leaving this country by the road to Saint James you meet two rivers which flow near the village of Saint-Jean de Sorde. One flows to the right and one to the left; the one is called *gaver* or torrent, the other *fluvius* or stream. Neither can be crossed without a boat, and their boatmen are wholly damned! For although the rivers are narrow, they take one coin from every man they ferry across, be he rich or poor, and for one beast they shamelessly extort four coins. Their small vessel is made from one tree and will barely take horses, so be careful on embarking not to fall in the water. In fact, you should drag your horse by the reins behind you across the river outside the boat. And go on board only with a few people, since, if it is overloaded, it will be in iminent danger of capsizing. Often the boatmen collect the fare and then take on such a crowd of pilgrims that the boat is overturned, and the pilgrims drown in the river. The boatmen then gloat evilly when they collect the belongings of the pilgrims.

Next, around the pass of Cize, is Basque country, in which lies the city of Bayonne on the seacoast to the north. The language of the country is barbarous; the land is wooded, mountainous and bare of bread, wine and all foodstuffs, except for apples, cider and milk. Here are evil toll keepers, notably around the pass of Cize, the village called Ostabat, and the villages of Saint-Jean and Saint-Michel-pied-de-Port. These men are wholly damned, for they come out with two or three sticks to block the way of pilgrims, and take an unjust toll by force. If anyone refuses to give them the toll they demand, they beat him with the sticks and snatch the fare from him, insulting him and searching him right down to his drawers. These are fierce men, and the country they inhabit is fierce, wooded and barbarous. The wildness of their faces and their barbarous tongue terrify the hearts of those who see them. Although they should not take toll from anyone but merchants, they unjustly exact it from pilgrims and all who come along. And when they are supposed by custom to levy on anything four or six coins, they take eight or twelve, exactly double.

Wherefore we ask now and entreat that these toll keepers, also the King of Aragon and the other rich men who receive the tolls from them, also all those who consent to it, namely Raymond de Solis, and Vivien d'Aigremont, and the Viscount of Saint-Michel, with all their descendants, together with the abovementioned boatmen, and Arnauld de Guinia with his descendants, also all the rest of the lords of the above rivers, who unjustly receive the fares from these boatmen, together with the priests who, knowing this, still give these men Penitence and the Eucharist, or perform for them the Divine Offices, or allow them in church, that all of these, until they have atoned by a long and public penitence and have moderated their tolls, be under sentence of excommunication, published not only in the bishoprics of their own countries, but even in the basilica of Saint James, to the listening pilgrims. And if any prelate whatever, moved by friendship or money, shall wish to pardon them, may he be struck with the sword of anathema!

It should be understood that these toll keepers are not supposed in any way to take fares from pilgrims, and the abovementioned boatmen should by rights take for two men, if wealthy, one obol, and for a horse one coin, but for a poor man nothing. And they ought to have large boats in which many beasts and men might freely embark.

In the Basque country is a splendid mountain called the Gate of Cize, either because it is the doorway to Spain, or because over this mountain useful merchandise moves from one country to the other. The ascent of the mountain is eight miles, and the descent is the same. Its height is such that it seems to touch the sky, and when a man climbs it, it seems that he could touch the sky with his hand. From its peak one can see the Breton sea, and the western ocean, and the frontiers of three countries, namely, Castille, Aragon and France. On the crest of this mountain is a place called the Cross of Charlemagne, since at this spot Charlemagne, on his way to Spain with his army when he made a road with axes, mattocks, spades and other tools, first raised the cross of the Lord, and on bent knees faced Galicia and prayed

to God and Saint James. For this reason, pilgrims are accustomed to pray here on their knees facing the land of Saint James and each of them erects a cross like a standard. You may find a thousand crosses there; thus, this is the first station for prayer on the road to Saint James. On this mountain, before Christianity had spread widely in Spain, the heathenish men of Navarre and the Basques were used not only to rob pilgrims on the way to Saint James, but to ride them like donkeys and kill them. Next to this mountain on the north side is a valley called the Val Carlos, or Valley of Charlemagne, where Charlemagne took refuge with his army after his warriors were slaughtered at Roncevaux. Through this valley pass many pilgrims to Saint James who do not want to climb the mountain.

On the way down the mountain is a hospice and a church in which is the stone which the great hero Roland split through the middle, from top to bottom, with three blows of his sword. Next comes Roncevaux, a place where once a great battle was held, in which King Marsile, Roland and Oliver, and other warriors to the number of forty thousand, both Christian and Saracen, were slain. After this valley comes the country of Navarre which is rich in bread, wine, milk and herds. The men of Navarre and the Basques are alike in the nature of their food, dress and language, but the Basques are fairer in complexion than the Navarrese. The men of Navarre wear a short black garment down to the knees, in the Scottish manner, and shoes they call *lavarcae*, which are made of uncured hide with the hair left on. They are tied around the foot with thongs, but cover only the sole of the foot, leaving the top bare. They wear capes of black wool down to the elbows, fringed like a cloak, which they call *saiae*. They are foully clothed and eat and drink in a filthy way. Among the Navarrese, the whole household, servant and master, maid and mistress, all eat together from a stew mixed in a common pot, not with spoons, but with their fingers, and they all drink from one cup. If you should see them eating you would think they were dogs or pigs gobbling. And if you heard them talking, you would be reminded of dogs barking. Their language is wholly barbarous: God they call *Urcia*, the Mother of God *Andrea Maria*, bread *orgui*, wine *ardum*, meat *aragui*, fish *araign*, house *echea*, the master of the house *iaona*, the mistress *andrea*, church *elicera*, a priest *belaterra*, which means beautiful land, wheat *gari*, water *uric*, king *ereguia*, Saint James *Jaona domne Jacue*.

These people are barbarous, unlike any other race in customs and nature, full of evil, black in color, inimical in appearance, depraved, perverse, treacherous, void of faith and corrupt, lecherous, drunken, skilled in all forms of violence, fierce and savage, monstrous and false, impious and harsh, cruel and quarrelsome, destitute of any good, well-versed in all vices and acts of injustice, in malice like the Getae and Saracens and hostile in every way to our French race. For one coin a man of Navarre or a Basque would kill a Frenchman if he could. In some areas of their country, notably Biscaye and Alava, when the Navarrese are sexually aroused, men and women show each other their private parts. And the Navarrese sinfully fornicate with beasts; it is said, indeed, that every man of Navarre puts a lock on the rear of his mule and horse

so no one can get at them but himself. And further, they lustfully kiss the vulva of both wife and mule. Therefore, the Navarrese are shunned by all who know them. In battle, however, they are sound although bad at siege work. They are regular in paying the tithe, and do give altar offerings. Each day, when a Navarrese goes to church, he makes an offering to God of bread, wine, or wheat, or some other thing. Wherever a Navarrese or Basque goes he is accustomed to hand a horn around his neck like a huntsman, and he carries two or three spears, called *suconae,* in his hands. Whenever he enters or leaves home he whistles like a kite, and when he is lurking in secret or lonely places for criminal purposes and wants to call his associates without alarm he hoots like an owl, or howls like a wolf. It is often said that these poeple are descended from the Scots, as they are like them in customs and general appearance. Julius Caesar is said to have sent three peoples; Nubians, Scots and tailed Cornishmen, to conquer the people of Spain since they refused to pay tribute, ordering them to put all males to the sword, but to spare the life of the women. These three peoples invaded the country by sea and after their boats were destroyed they laid waste the country from Barcelona to Saragossa and from Bayonne to Mount Orca with fire and sword. They could not go beyond these limits since the Castillians united to defeat them and chased them from their borders. They fled and arrived at the Monts Marins between Najera, Pamplona and Bayonne, on the sea in Biscaye and Alva where they settled and built numerous forts. They killed all the men whose wives they took by force, and had children by these, who were later called Navarrese; thence the explanation that Navarrus comes from *non verus* (untrue) as they were not born of pure race or legitimate family. The Navarrese claim they took the name originally from a city Nadaver which was in the area they reached first, a city which in early times Saint Matthew the apostle and evangelist converted to the Lord by his preaching.

Next after this country, after you get through the forest of Oca towards Burgos, you come to the land of the Spaniards, Castille and its territories. This land is full of treasures, gold and silver, rich in fodder and powerful horses, in bread and wine, meat and fish, milk and honey, yet bare of woods and full of evil and vicious people.

Next comes Galicia after you cross the boundary of Léon and the passes of Mount Irago and Mount Cebrero. This country is wooded, full of rivers, meadows and excellent orchards. It has good fruits and pure fountains, but few cities, villages or tilled fields; it is poor in wheat bread and wine, but has a lot of rye bread and other sorts of fermented drink. There are flocks and herds, milk and honey, and huge but rare sea fish. It rejoices in gold and silver, textiles and wild furs and other riches, and furthermore overflowswith Saracen treasures. The Galicians are more like our French race than any other of the rude Spanish peoples in their customs but they are said to be irascible and contentious.

VIII. ON THE BODIES OF THE SAINTS REPOSING ALONG THE ROUTE TO SAINT JAMES, WHICH SHOULD BE VISITED BY PILGRIMS.

The first thing those who take the road to Saint James by way of Saint-Gilles should do is visit the body of St. Trophimus the Confessor at Arles. St. Paul in his letter to Timothy mentioned this man who had been ordained bishop by this very Apostle and who was the first sent to Arles to preach the gospel of Christ. From this limpid source, according to Pope Zosimus, all France received the stream of faith. His feast day is celebrated on the twenty-ninth of December.

Also, you should visit the body of St. Caesar, Bishop and Martyr, who founded the monastic rule in this city; his festival is celebrated on the first of November.

Also, in the cemetery of the same city you should seek out the relics of St. Honoratus the Bishop, whose festival is celebrated on the sixteenth of January and in whose venerable and splendid basilica rests the body of St. Genesus, most holy Martyr. There is a suburb close to Arles, between two branches of the Rhône, called Trinquetaille, where there is a splendid, lofty, marble column set on the ground in back of the church of this Saint, where they say the treacherous populace tied him and beheaded him, and where to this day his red blood shows a purple stain. The Saint, as soon as he was decapitated, took his head in his own hands and threw it into the Rhône; the river carried his body in the midst of its waters to the basilica of St. Honoratus where it lies in honor, but his head went sailing down the river and over the sea with an angel steering and landed at Cartagena, a city of Spain, where it now rests in glory and performs many miracles. His festival is celebrated on the twenty-fifth of August.

From there, you ought to visit a cemetery near Arles, in a place called Les Aliscamps to intercede for the dead according to custom with prayers, psalms, and offerings. This cemetery is a mile both in length and width. You will never find so many or such great tombs of marble set on the earth anywhere but there. There are, indeed, ancient ones of various kinds inscribed with Latin letters but in an unintelligible dialect. However far you look you see sarcophagi. In the same cemetery are seven churches and if a priest says the Eucharist for the dead in any one of these, or a layman has Mass said for any of the dead, or a cleric reads the Psalter, then truly the rightous dead who lie there shall testify before God for his salvation at the Last Judgement. Many are the bodies of holy martyrs and confessors lying there whose souls rejoice in Paradise. Their day of commemoration is observed, according to custom, on the Monday after Easter Week.

Also you must pay most especial regard to the most revered body of St. Gilles (Egidius) Confessor and Abbott for he is most celebrated through all the regions of earth and must be properly loved and worshipped by all, most diligently prayed to by all in all matters and invoked for all reasons. After the Prophets and Apostles no one of the other saints is more worthy, more holy, more glorious, more swift in aid. For he is far swifter than other saints to help the poor and afflicted when they call out to him. O what a beautiful and precious act to visit his sepulchre! On the very day a man prays to him with all his heart then without doubt he shall be helped to his advantage. I have proof of what I say: I saw a man in this Saint's town, on the very day he prayed to him, leave, with the blessed Confessor's help, the house of a certain shoemaker, Peirotus, which was a very old house that crumbled and fell. Who then will visit his threshold more often? Who will worship God in his most sacred basilica? Who will embrace his sarcophagus more often? Who will kiss his venerable altar, or who will tell the story of his most pious life? For the sick man who puts on this Saint's tunic is cured, and by his power which never fails a man bitten by a snake is cured, a man possessed of a demon is freed, a storm at sea is calmed. Theocritus' daughter was restored with a cure long hoped for, a man who was sick throughout his body was restored to a health long desired, an untamed doe at his command was made tame and fawned on him, a monastic order increased under his patronage as abbott, a man possessed of a demon was freed, a transgression of Charlemagne which an angel told the saint was remitted the king, a dead man was restored to life, a cripple brought back to health, and furthermore two cypress-wood doors carved with portraits of the Holy Apostles came unpiloted over the ocean waves from the city of Rome to the port of the Rhône solely by the force of his command.

It would be tedious to go on, as I cannot recount all his blessed deeds which are so many and so great. This brightest star of Greece, having lighted with his rays the men of Provence came to rest there, not declining but increasing, not dwindling in light but giving it twice as bright to all people, not setting into the deeps but rising to the peaks of Olympus. In dying his light was not darkened but in his wonderful constellation he shines brighter than all the holy stars through the four quarters of the heavens. In the middle of the night on a Sunday, the first of September, this star set and a choir of angels seated him among them on a shining throne, and the Goths and monks welcomed his honoured grave in his own free land, between the city of Nîmes and the river Rhône. There is a great golden coffer behind the altar over his revered body, which bears, on the first register to the left, a sculptured representation of six of the Apostles and also on the first register the image of Blessed Mary, fittingly represented. On the second register above this are the signs of the Zodiac in this order: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces, and winding among these are golden flowers in the form of a vine. On the third and highest register are represented twelve of the four and twenty elders, with these verses inscribed above their heads:

> Behold the glorious choir of twice twelve elders
> Who sing sweet song to clear sounding lyres.

On the right side of the chest, on the first register, are also seven figures representing six of the Apostles, and a seventh figure who is one or another of Christ's disciples. But over the heads of the Apostles on either side of the coffer are carved their virtues in female form, such as, Kindness, Gentleness, Faith, Hope, Charity, and the rest. On the second register are flowers in the form of a vine. On the third and highest register, as on the left side, are represented twelve of the four and twenty elders, with these verses carved over their heads:

> This noted coffer, finished with gold and gems
> contains the remains of St. Egidius.
> Who breaks it God will curse forever,
> so too Egidius and all the Body of Saints.

The cover of the coffer is worked on both sides in the form of fish scales. On the peak are set thirteen pieces of rock crystal, some worked in lozenge shape, and others in the form of apples or pomegranates. One crystal is huge and formed like a great fish, a trout standing erect with its tail curved up. The chief of these crystals is a huge one in the shape of a great pot on which is placed a precious, gleaming, golden cross. In the center of the front of the chest in a golden aureole is our Lord giving a benediction with his right hand and in his left holding a book in which is written: "Choose peace and truth." Under his footstole is a golden star and by his side are carved two letters, one to the right and one to the left, thus: AΩ. Over his throne two precious stones glitter in a wonderful way. The four winged Evangelists surround his throne, each holding under his feet a scroll on which are written the beginnings of their gospels. Matthew in the form of a man is above and to the right, and Luke as an ox beneath him, while John as an eagle is above and to the left, and Mark as a lion below him. Two angels are next to the throne of the Lord, a Cherub is to the right with his feet above Luke, and similarly above Mark is a Seraph, all carved in a wonderful way. There are two rows of every sort of precious stone, one of them rings the throne in which our Lord sits, and the other borders the chest, and three stones are there joined in a wonderful way as a symbol of the Holy Trinity.

A certain illustrious man for love of the most blessed Confessor has fixed his own portrait in gold at the foot of the chest, on the side toward the altar, with golden nails and it remains there to this day to the eternal glory of God. On the back face of the coffer is carved the Ascension of the Lord. In the first register are six of the Apostles with their faces raised to watch the Lord ascending to Heaven and written above them: "O men of Galilee! This Jesus who is received into Heaven from your midst shall come again just as you have seen Him." In the second register are the other six Apostles standing in the same way, but golden columns separate them. In the third register the Lord stands upright on a throne of gold, and two standing angels, one to the right and one to the left of the throne, point out the Lord to the Apostles with their hands, one raised and the other lowered. Above the head of the Lord, over the throne, a dove is shown as if flying above Him. In the fourth and highest register the Lord is carved on another throne of gold and next to Him the four Evangelists: Luke in the form of an ox below on the south side and Matthew as a man above him.

On the north side is Mark as a lion below, and John as an eagle above. Note that the Lord of Majesty does not sit on the throne but stands erect with His face turned to the south, and with raised head He gazes as if to Heaven, His right hand raised and the left holding a small cross. Thus He ascends to the Father who receives Him at the top of the coffer. Such is the tomb of St. Gilles the Confessor, in which his venerable body lies in honour. May the Hungarians blush to say they have his body, may the monks of Chamalières who pretend they have his whole body be confounded, may the men of Saint-Seine who preen themselves they have his head waste away, may the Normans of Cotentin be overawed when they boast they have all his body, since his sacred bones, as many have proved could never in any way be moved out of these bounds. Some people, indeed, did dishonestly try to take the arm of this Confessor Saint from his own land to a distant place but they were not able to make away with him by any means at all.

There are four saints whose bodies, it is said, cannot be moved by anyone from their own sarcophagi; these are St. James the son of Zebediah, St. Martin of Tours, St. Léonard of Limousin, and St. Gilles the confessor of Christ. It is said that Philip the king of France once tried to take their bodies to France but could in no way move them from their own sarcophagi.

Those who take the road to Saint James by way of Toulouse should visit the body of St. William the Confessor. For the most sanctified William was a famous standard bearer, one of King Charlemagne's comrades and not the least of them, a brave soldier and skilled in warfare. It is said he subjugated the cities of Nîmes and Orange and many others to Christian rule by his might and valour. He took wood from the cross of the Lord with him to the valley of Gellone, in which valley he led a hermit's life and where, after a blessed end, he rests in honour as a confessor of Christ. His holy feast day is celebrated on the twenty-eighth of May.

On the same road the bodies of these blessed martyrs must be visited: Tiberius, Modestus and Florencius, who in the reign of Diocletian underwent various tortures for the faith of Christ and suffered martyrdom. They lie by the river Hérault in an excellent tomb. Their festival is celebrated on the tenth of November.

Also on the same road you must visit the worthy body of St. Saturninus, Bishop and Martyr, who was stretched on the capitol at Toulouse by the pagans who tied him to fierce, untamed bulls, then he was hurled off the top of the capitol down a mile long flight of stone steps, where, with crushed head and brains gushing out, his body torn in pieces, he gave his worthy soul to Christ. He is buried near the city of Toulouse in a beautiful spot, where the faithful have built a great basilica in his honor in which the canonical rule of Saint Augustine is observed and many favours are granted by God to those who ask. The festival of this saint is celebrated on the twenty-ninth of November.

Burgundians and Teutons who go to Saint James by way of Puy should visit the most holy body of St. Faith, Virgin and Martyr. A chorus of angels raised her most holy soul in the form of a dove into the heavens from her

body which was decapitated by executioners on the hill of the city of Agen, and crowned it with immortal laurel. On seeing this St. Caprasius, a priest of the city of Agen, who had hidden in a cave to escape the fury of persecution, was given courage to undergo martyrdom, so he hurried to the spot where the blessed virgin was exposed and bravely earned the palm of martyrdom in a struggle, even accusing his persecutors of delay.

The most precious body of St. Faith, Virgin and Martyr, was buried with honour by the Christians in a valley commonly called Conques, and above her the Christians built a splendid basilica in which, to the glory of God, the rule of St. Benedict is carefully observed, where many favours are given to the firm and to the infirm, and before whose doors is an excellent fountain, too miraculous to recount. St. Faith's festival is celebrated on the sixth of October.

On the road to Saint James by way of Saint-Léonard the first and proper thing for pilgrims to do is to visit the most holy body of St. Mary Magdalen. This is that glorious Mary who in the house of Simon the Leper washed the feet of the Saviour with tears and dried them with her hair, anointed them with precious oil in kissing them, for which she was pardoned her many sins because she greatly loved the lover of all men, Jesus Christ the Redeemer. After the Ascension of the Lord she left Jerusalem with St. Maximinus, a disciple of Christ, and with others of the Lord's disciples came to Provence by sea, arriving at the port of Marseilles, in which country she lived a celibate life for several years, and finally was buried in the city of Aix by the same Maximinus who was bishop of the city. After a long time her most sacred dust was moved from her city to Vézelay by a great man made holy by monastic life, Badilo by name, where it lies to this day in a revered tomb. In this place a huge and most beautiful basilica and a monastic abbey were founded, where for the love of the Saint sinners are remitted their sins by the Lord, sight is returned to the blind, the tongues of the mute are loosed, the crippled are made straight, those possessed of a devil are released, and indescribable benefits are accorded to many. The festival of this Saint is celebrated on the twenty-second of July.

You should also visit the sacred body of St. Léonard the confessor who, although he was of a most noble French family and was raised in the royal court, renounced the villainous world for love of All Highest God and for a long time led a celibate hermit's life in Limousin, in a place commonly called Noblat, undergoing many fasts and vigils, enduring cold and nakedness and unutterable sufferings, to lie at last after a holy passing in his own freehold property where his sacred dust remains unmoved. The monks of Corbigny should blush to say they possess the body of St. Léonard, since not his smallest bone or a grain of dust has ever been moved, as I said above. The monks of Corbigny and many others are enriched by his benefits and miracles, but they are denied the presence of his body. And, since they could not have his body, they venerate instead of Léonard of Limousin the body of a certain Léotard, which it is said was brought them from Anjou in a silver casket. They even changed his name after his death as though it were a second baptism, and gave him St. Léonard's name, so that drawn by the renown of such a great and well known name, that of Léonard of Limousin, pilgrims might come there and enrich them with offerings. They celebrate his

feast day on the fifteenth of October. So first they made St. Léonard of Limousin the patron of their sacrifice, then they put another in his place in the manner of jealous slaves who forcibly take from their master his entire inheritance and wrongly exercise it as if it were their own. Then who shatters the fetters that bind their fellow friends and gives them to others. They have stripped [illegible] their debts, and the sentence of [illegible] has reconciled those who acted in this way, saying: "It was given [illegible] to others." Peasants and native auxiliaries were cheering that they have found the body of St. Léonard of Limousin which they seek, not knowing they have discovered another in his place. But whosoever it is who accomplishes the miracles at Confolens, it is nevertheless St. Léonard of Limousin who, although surpassed by number of the crowds, delivers captives and draws them [illegible] from the mouth of lions and dragons, in a double sense, both because they do not recognize the one who tramples them with [illegible], and do not even [illegible] with respect, but only because [illegible] by the [illegible] there. Divine [illegible] was spread far and wide across the [illegible] the time of St. Léonard of Limousin the Confessor who making his [illegible] effective virtue returns [illegible] out of prison. Their iron chains, too cruel to [illegible] and joined together by [illegible] and [illegible] hurl around the [illegible] on the left and on the right, inside and out, as witness to [illegible] you who [illegible] [illegible] them would [illegible] to see the nails in the [illegible] [illegible] of numerous [illegible] kind. [illegible] there hang from manacles, collars, chains, foot shackles, bonds, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], hooks and different [illegible]. From which this powerful Confessor of Christ has freed captives by force of his virtue. The wonderful thing in which he appears in order [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] over in Normandy across the sea, as well as has freed by the virtue of God [illegible]. [illegible] is well fulfilled what the living [illegible] says: "[illegible] he has freed those sitting in the gloom and shades of death, and those bound with misery and fetters." And that prior to his [illegible] were in tribulation and to [illegible] [illegible] necessity, he lifted them from the well of injustice, [illegible] burst bonds asunder and shattered iron bonds, he freed those [illegible] were shackled and many [illegible] in manacles or iron. [illegible] Christians [illegible] were shrived and delivered into the hands of [illegible], they were answered by those who hated them and were [illegible] by their enemies and humiliated at their hands. But this Saint often freed them and led them from the [illegible] and shadow of death and broke their chains. For he said to those who were in chains: "Depart," and [illegible] who were in the [illegible] "Come forth." His holy feast is celebrated on the sixth of November.

[illegible] St. Léonard, you should visit in the city of Périgueux the body of St. Front, Bishop and Confessor, who was ordained at Rome by St. Peter the Apostle and was sent with a priest called Georges to the [illegible] city to preach there. They set out together, but [illegible] died and was buried on the way. St. Front went back to the Apostle and announced the death of his companion. St. Peter gave him his [illegible] staff [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

a Pictish island for the Catholic faith, where he ordered to flight a multitude of serpents and drove back to a yawning corner of Ireland ten [illegible] who was stricken immediately by a double curse. The town where he must dwell and vermin's curse. He is accompanied with masses of gold and silver and precious stones. His chief and handsome building is reverend for frequent miracles. His second festival is celebrated on the thirteenth of January.

Also, you should visit the venerable head of St. John the Baptist which was brought by certain religious men from Jerusalem to the place called Sebastia, in the country of Syria. A great and wonderful church was built there in his honour, where the most holy head is demonstrated right and pat. By a short of a hundred paces, and not nearer thence by innumerable miracles. Even while the head was being enshrouded over and are long to have sounded aloud on the sea to wonder and many persons of the sea, and on land, as it says in the record of the transportation to Europe, was seen not to [illegible]. Therefore it is believed only to truly the head of the Holy Forerunner. Its discovery was on the twenty-fourth of February, in the reign of the emperor Marcian, when the fever-ague first traveled to two monks where his head is, master.

In the road to Saint James, in the city of Saintes, pilgrims must devout visit the body of St. Eutropius, Bishop and Martyr, and St. Dionysius, his fellow and friend of Paris, where [illegible] was passion for Christ, sent the Apostle by the name Trinity, [illegible] to his parents in Greece, who already believed in Christ. [illegible] discovered the account of this passion as Constantinople in a Greek scroll. [illegible] it a book containing the passions

to believe in Him in secret. At length he joined himself entirely to Him, but feared the opinion of his comrades whom his father had very firmly told to guard him with utmost caution and bring him back home. Then he was told that the Jews were about to kill the Saviour, and because he shrank from seeing the death of such a man, he left Jerusalem on the next day. And so, going to his father in his own country he recounted everything that he had seen of the Saviour in Jerusalem. He stayed for a while in Babylon, but since he was desirous of attaching himself entirely to the Saviour and believed Him to be still alive, he set out again with a shieldbearer for Jerusalem after forty-five days, unknown to his father. When he heard that the Lord he loved in secret had suffered on the cross and been put to death by the Jews, he grieved deeply then, but when he learned that He had arisen from the dead and appeared to the disciples and had ascended in triumph to Heaven, then truly he began to rejoice. At length on the day of Pentecost, as he was with the Lord's disciples, he learned from them how the Holy Spirit descended on them with tongues of fire and filled their hearts and taught them the manner of all tongues. Then, full of the Holy Spirit, he returned to Babylon and put to the sword such Jews as he found in his country on account of those who had condemned the Lord to death in Jerusalem, because he was burning with zeal for the love of Christ. After a little while, when the Lord' disciples were going out to various parts of the world, two golden torches, burning with the faith given by divine grace, that is to say, Simon and Thaddeus, Apostles of the Lord, were sent to Persia. When they had entered Babylon and chased out two magi, Zaroen and Arfaxat, who were turning people away from the faith of the Lord by their empty sayings and signs, the apostles sowed the seeds of eternal life in all people and began to shed light by all sorts of miracles. Then the holy youth, Eutropius, who rejoiced in their arrival, admonished the king to abandon the error of the heathens and of idols and to submit to the Christian faith by which the kingdom of Heaven is earned. Then what? Then, by the Apostles' preaching, the king and his son, with many of the inhabitants of Babylon, were reborn by the grace of baptism at the hands of these Apostles. Finally the whole city was converted to the faith and the Apostles established a church with all its hierarchy; they made Abdias, a man full of faith and imbued with the evangelical doctrine, whom they had brought with them from Jerusalem, bishop over the Christians, and ordained Eutropius as archdeacon; then they went on to other cities to preach the word of God. Not long afterward they gave up their earthly life in exchange for the triumph of martyrdom, and St. Eutropius praised their passion in Chaldaean and in Greek, then having heard of the miracles and virtue of St. Peter, the chief Apostle, who was discharging his apostolic office at Rome, he renounced all secular concerns and, unknown to his father, he received permission from the bishop and went to Rome. He was received warmly by St. Peter and by him imbued with the Lord's precepts, and after he had been there some time, by St. Peter's wish and command he went to France with other brothers to preach. When he arrived at the city which is called Saintes he saw that it was well protected all around with ancient walls, adorned with lofty towers, situated in an excellent location, of fair dimensions both in length and in width, running over with goods and foodstuffs, having excellent meadows and clear fountains, protected by a great river, rich in gardens and orchards and vineyards in the outskirts, covered with salubrious air, made beautiful with squares and avenues and was delightful in many ways. When he saw it, this good disciple began to consider that God would think it

worth converting this most beautiful and outstanding city from the error of the heathen and of idols and submit it to Christian laws. And so he went through the squares and avenues insistently preaching the word of God. But as soon as the citizens understood he was a foreigner, and they heard him preaching words they had never heard before about the Holy Trinity and baptism, they were annoyed and chased him out of town, burning him with torches and beating him cruelly with their sticks. But bearing this persecution patiently he built a wooden hut on a hill next to the city, and lived there a long time. He preached in the city during the day, and spent the night awake in his hut in prayer and tears. After a long time, as he was not able to convert anyone to Christ except a very few, he remembered the words of the Lord: "As whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your word, when you depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet." Then he went to Rome again, where, since St. Peter had died on the cross St. Clement was Pope. He told him to go back to the above city and preaching there the Lord's commands await a martyr's crown. At length, having been ordained bishop by the Pope himself, he went with St. Dionysius, who had come to Rome from Greece and along with other brothers whom Clement himself had sent to Gaul to preach, he came to Auxerre. There amid embracings and tears of holy affection they parted, and Dionysius and his companions went to Paris, while St. Eutropius returned to Saintes, bravely willing to endure suffering and full of the zeal of Christ, which he encouraged saying of himself: "The Lord is on my side, I will not fear: what can men do unto me? And fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul. Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will he give for his life." And firmly walking into the city as though senseless, pursuing his course whether opportunely or not, he preached the faith of the Lord, explaining to everyone the Incarnation of Christ, His Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and all the rest He suffered for the salvation of mankind, and he openly told everyone that on one can enter into the kingdom of God unless he has been reborn through the water and the Holy Spirit. He spent the nights in his hut, as before. But as he preached, divine grace came from above and many of the heathen in the city were baptized by him, among whom was a daughter of the king of the city, Eustella by name, who was reborn in the waters of baptism. When her father found out he abominated her and threw her out of the city. She understood she had been rejected for the love of Christ, and began to live near the holy man's hut. But her father was moved with love for his daughter, and sent messengers to bring her home. She replied she would rather stay out of the city for the faith of Christ than reenter it and be contaminated by idols. At this her father was overcome with anger and calling the city's slaughterers, in number one hundred and fifty, ordered them to kill St. Eutropius and bring the girl back to her father's house. And so on the thirtieth of April, joined by a throng of heathens, they came to the hut and having first stoned this most holy man of God with stones, they beat his bare body with clubs and straps weighted with lead, and finally they killed him with axes and hatchets, cutting off his hand.

The girl and some Christians buried him at night in his hut, and she kept lighted vigils and incessantly recited divine obsequies as long as she lived. And when she departed this life after a saintly death, she was buried as she had ordered next to her master's sarcophagus in land she

owned freehold. Later, a great basilica in his honour was raised over St. Eutropius' most holy body in the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, built by the Christians with wonderful workmanship, where those sick with all sorts of diseases are cured, the crippled are made straight, the blind given light and the deaf hearing, those possessed by demons are freed, and to all who ask with a sincere heart, help and health are granted. There too, iron chains and manacles and other iron instruments from which St. Eutropius has freed captives are hung up. Through his holy merit and through prayer may he obtain pardon for us from God, revive vitues in us and govern our lives, when we are in peril of death may he snatch us from the jaws of the pit, and at the Last Judgement appease the wrath of the Eternal Judge for us, and lead us to the high kingdom of Heaven, where is Our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns one God, world without end. Amen.

Next, at Blaye on the sea, you should ask the protection of St. Romanus, in whose basilica rests the body of the blessed martyr Roland, of noble birth who was in Charlemagne's court, one of the twelve companions, and who, armed with holy zeal, entered Spain to chase out the infidels. He was endowed with strength so great, they say, that he cut a rock at Roncevaux from top to bottom through the middle with three blows of his sword, and also, when he sounded his horn, the force of his breath likewise split it through the middle. His ivory horn thus split is in the city of Bordeaux at the basilica of St. Severinus, and on the rock at Roncevaux a church has been built. After having conquered kings and heathens in many wars, Roland was worn out by hunger, cold and excessive heat, was battered by cruel strokes and heavy blows and wounded by arrows and spears, and at last he is said to have died of thirst in that valley, a precious martyr of Christ. His comrades buried his most sacred body with proper reverence in the basilica of St. Romanus in Blaye.

Then, at Bordeaux you must visit the body of St. Severinus, bishop and confessor. His festival is celebrated on the twenty-third of October.

Also in the territory of Bordeaux, at a village called Belin, you must visit the bodies of the holy martyrs: Oliver, Gondebaud the King of Frisia, Ogier the King of the Danes, Arastain the King of Britain, Garin the Duke of Lorraine, and many of the companions of King Charlemagne, who, having conquered armies of pagans, were slaughtered in Spain for the Christian faith. Their comrades carried their precious bodies to Belin and there buried them with devotion. They all lie in one tomb from which emanates a sweet fragrance that cures the sick.

Next, in Spain, you must visit the body of St. Dominic the confessor, who built the paved road between the city of Najera and Radicella where he lies.

Also, you must visit the bodies of the blessed martyrs, Facundus and Primitivus, whose basilica was built by Charlemagne. Next to their village is a wooded meadow where the shafts of warriors' lances were planted and are said to have sprouted. The feast day of these saints is celebrated on the twenty-seventh of November.

From there, at the city of Léon one should visit the venerable body of St. Isidore, bishop and confessor or teacher, who founded a most pious rule for ecclesiastical clerks, who imbued the Spanish people with his doctrines, and who adorned the entire Holy Church with his own fruitful works.

And at last, you must visit most particularly and with especial reverence the most holy body of St. James the Apostle in the city of Compostela.

May all the saints mentioned above, and all other saints of God by their merits and prayers aid us before Our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns one God, world without end. Amen.

IX. ON THE CHARACTER OF THE CITY AND BASILICA OF ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE IN GALICIA.

The city of Compostela is situated between two rivers, one called the Sar and the other the Sarela. The Sar is to the east, between the Hill of Joy (Monte del Gozo) and the city, the Sarela is to the west. There are seven entrances and gates to the city. The first entrance is called the French Gate; the second, the Peña Gate; third, the Gate by the Brothers; fourth, the Saint Pèlerin Gate; fifth, the de Falgueriis Gate, which leads to Petronus; sixth, the Gate of (the) "Susannis" (fallow land); seventh, the Gate of (the) "Macerellis" (brickmasons), through which precious wine enters the city.

1. On the Churches of the City

In this city are ten churches, the chief of which is that of the glorious Apostle James, son of Zebediah, situated in the middle of the city, gloriously resplendent. The second of them is the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which is an abbey for monks, situated next to the road from France. The third is the church of St. Michael, nicknamed the church of the Cistern; fourth, the church of St. Martin the Bishop, called the church of Pinario, which is an abbey for monks; fifth, that of the Holy Trinity, where pilgrims are buried; sixth, the church of St. Susan the Virgin, next to the "Petronus" road; seventh, the church of St. Felix the Martyr; eighth, St. Benedict's; the ninth is that of St. Pelagius the Martyr, behind the basilica of St. James; tenth, the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is behind the basilica of St. James and has an entrance into the basilica between the altars of St. Nicholas and the Holy Cross.

2. On the Dimensions of the Church

The basilica of St. James is fifty-three times a man's height in length, that is, from the West Door to the altar of the Holy Saviour, in width it is forty less one, from the French Door to the South Door; its

their sin, and to the left He is shown again, expelling them from Paradise. All around are many saints, animals, men, angels, women, flowers and other creatures, whose nature and quality I cannot describe because they are too many. But in the spandrel above the doorway which is on the left as you enter the basilica, is carved the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary; the Angel Gabriel is speaking to her, and to the left again, over the doors, on the sides, are represented the months of the year and other beautiful works. Two great fierce lions are on the outside wall, who perpetually look down as though inspecting the doors, one to the right and the other to the left. On the upper part of the jambs are four Apostles, each one holding a book in his left hand, and his right raised, seeming to bless those who enter the basilica. Peter is on the left hand entrance to the right, Paul to the left; on the right hand entrance is the Apostle John on the right and St. James to the left. Above each Apostle's head are carved the heads of oxen springing from the jambs.

8. On the South Door.

The South Door of the Apostle's basilica has two entrances as I said, and four valves. Over the right hand entrance in the first register outside is a remarkable representation of the Betrayal of Christ; here our Lord is tied to a column by the Jews, here he is beaten, here sits Pilate on the tribunal to judge him. Above, in the next register is the Blessed Virgin, the mother of God, with her Son in Bethlehem, and the three Kings coming to visit the Son and his Mother, each offering Him a gift, and the star is shown, and the angel warning them not to return to Herod. On the jambs of this entrance are two Apostles, like guardians of the doors, one to the right, the other to the left. Likewise, on the left hand entrance, on the jambs, are two Apostles, and in the first register above the door the Temptation of the Lord. In front of the Lord are loathesome angels, like monsters, setting him on the ridgepole of the Temple, and others who offer Him stones, inviting Him to change them to bread, others who show Him the kingdoms of the earth, claiming they will give them to Him if He will fall before them and worship them--may God forbid! But there are other good angels, some behind Him and others above with censers, ministering to Him. There are four lions in the same doorway, one to the right in one entrance, and the others in the other one. Between the two entrances, above the pillar, there are two more fierce lions, back to back. There are eleven columns in this doorway; in the right hand entrances, the one to your right, that is, there are five, and the same number on the left. The eleventh is between the two entrances, and divides the entrance arches. Of these columns, some are of marble and some of stone, and they are carved with remarkable representations of flowers, men, birds, and animals. The columns are of white marble. We must not omit to mention that a woman stands next to the Lord in the scene of the Temptation, holding in her hands her lecherous paramour's putrid head, cut off by her own husband, who forces her to kiss it twice a day. O what a great and admirable punishment for a woman's adultery, which all the world should know of! In the upper register, above the four valves, up near the galleries

of the basilica, is a wonderful course of beautiful gleaming white marble. Here the Lord stands upright, and St. Peter is to the left of Him holding the keys, and St. James to the right between two cypress trees, and next to him St. John his brother. To the left and to the right are the other Apostles. The wall above and below, to the right and to the left, is beautifully carved with flowers, men, saints, beasts, birds, fishes and other subjects, which I have no space to describe. But there are four angels above the entrance arches each holding a trumpet, announcing the Day of Judgement.

9. On the West Door

The West Door, which has two entrances, surpasses the other doorways in beauty, size and workmanship. It is bigger, more beautiful and more splendidly worked, is reached from the outside by many steps, has columns of various marbles and is decorated in many fashions and in different ways, with representations of men, women, animals, birds, saints, angels, flowers and all kinds of subjects, so many in number I cannot begin to describe them. Above, however, is the Transfiguration of the Lord, as it took place on Mount Tabor, wonderfully carved. The Lord is in a shining cloud, His face is bright as the sun, His garments white as snow, and above, the Father addresses Him, and Moses and Elijah appear to Him, telling Him of His death, which will be in Jerusalem. There are St. James, and Peter and John, to whom before all others the Lord revealed His Transfiguration.

10. On the Towers of the Basilica

There are to be nine towers in the church, two over the door by the fountain, two over the South Door, and two over the West, with two over each spiral staircase and the greatest one over the crossing in the centre of the basilica. With these and the other splendid pieces of workmanship St. James' basilica is gloriously resplendent. It is built throughout of enduring, quarried stone which is brown in colour and as hard as marble. Inside it is painted with various scenes and outside it is excellently roofed with tiles and lead. But of all I have described, some is already completed, some is still left to finish.

11. On the Altars of the Basilica

The altars of the basilica are arranged thus: first, next to the French Door which is on the left, is the altar of St. Nicholas and next to it the altar of the Holy Cross; next, in the ambulatory, the altar of St. Faith the virgin; next, that of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, the brother of St. James; next, the altar of the Holy Saviour in the largest head (chapel) as it were, then come the altars of St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. Martin the Bishop, and St. John the Baptist. Between the altars of St. James and the Holy Saviour is the altar of St. Mary Magdelen, where morning mass is said to the pilgrims. Above, in the gallery, there are three altars, the chief of which is the altar of St. Michael the Archangel.

The one on the right is St. Benedict's and the one on the left that of St. Paul the Apostle and St. Nicholas the Bishop, in what is customarily the archbishop's chapel.

12. On the Body and the Altar of St. James

I have so far spoken of the church's characteristics, but must now discuss the Apostle's venerable altar. They say that in this venerable basilica under the main altar which was built in his honour, lies the venerable body of St. James, hidden in a marble coffer within a beautiful, vaulted tomb, built with wonderful workmanship and of a fitting size. That the body rests there unmoved is testified by St. Theodomirus, Bishop of this church, who found it once and could not remove it. They should blush then, those envious people across the mountains who say they have some part or relics of him, for the Apostle's whole body is here, divinely lighted with Paradisial rubies, graced by divine perfumes that never fail, surrounded by flaming heavenly tapers, and honoured by angels who say unceasing obsequies. Over his tomb is a small altar which his disciples are said to have erected and which no one wanted to remove on account of the disciples' love for the Apostle. Over this is a great and wonderful altar, five palms in height, twelve in length and seven in width, as I measured it with my own hands. The small altar is enclosed by the greater on three sides, that is, on the right and the left and behind, but is left open in front so one can see the old altar clearly once the silver altar front is taken away. If anyone wishes to send a cover or linen cloth to cover the Apostle's altar, for love of St. James, he should send it nine palms in width and in length twenty-one. If anyone for love of God and the Apostle sends a covering for the front of the altar, let him be sure it measures seven palms in width and thirteen in length.

13. On the Silver Altar Front.

The altar front is magnificently worked in gold and silver. On it, in the centre, is the throne of the Lord surrounded by the four and twenty elders arranged as St. John the brother of James saw them in his Revelation, twelve to the right and twelve to the left in a circle, having in their hands harps and golden vials full of odors. In the centre sits the Lord as on the Throne of Majesty, holding in His left hand the Book of Life and giving a blessing with His right. Around His throne are the four Evangelists, as if holding it up. The twelve Apostles are ranged to the right and left of Him, three in the first register to the right and three above. Similarly on the left there are three in the bottom rank and three in the upper. Splendid flowers encircle them and there are handsome columns between the Apostles. This altar front of workmanship both fitting and excellent carries at the top these verses:

> This front, Diego, second bishop of Saint James
> made in the fifth year of his episcopate
> for marks of silver from the treasury of Saint James
> eighty less five in number.

Below is this inscription:

King was Alfonso, Duke his son-in-law Raymond,
Bishop the above, when this work was finished.

14. On the Canopy of the Apostle's Altar

The canopy that covers this venerable altar is wonderfully worked with painting and designs and various subjects inside and out. It is foursquare, placed on four columns, harmonious in width and height. Inside in the first register are shown the virtues especially noted by St. Paul, in the form of a women, eight in number, two in each corner. Above their heads are angels standing upright whose raised hands hold the throne on the top of the canopy. On the throne is the Lamb of God holding a cross in his foot. There are as many angels as there are virtues. In the first register on the Exterior are four angels who blow on their trumpets announcing the resurrection on Judgement Day. On the front face are two and there are two on the back. In the same register are four Prophets, Moses and Abraham on the left face and Issac and Jacob on the right, each holding a scroll with his own prophecy on it. All around the upper register sit the twelve Apostles. On the front face St. James sits in the centre holding a book in his left hand and raising his right in blessing. To his right on the same level is another Apostle and to his left another. On the right side of the canopy are three other Apostles and to the left three and behind another three. On the top of the canopy sit four angels as if guarding the altar. On the four corners of the canopy at the bottom of the roof are the four Evangelists, each with his own attribute. The inside of the canopy is painted, while outside it is carved and painted. On the summit outside is a sort of finial with three arches in which the Holy Trinity is carved; in the first arch which looks to the west is the Father standing, in the second looking south and east the Son, and in the third which looks north is the Holy Ghost. On top is a shining silver ball on which is a precious cross.

15. On the Three Lamps

In front of the altar of Saint James are three great silver lamps hung there to the glory of Christ and the Apostle. The one in the middle is really big and is wonderfully worked in the likeness of a great mortar, having seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. These lamps are never fed with any oil of balsam or myrrh, or benzoin or olive; the largest compartment is surrounded by the others and on each surrounding compartment are the forms of two Apostles in relief on the exterior. May the soul of Aldefonso, King of Aragon, who is said to have brought the lamp and given it to St. James rest in eternal peace.

16. On the Status of the Church of St. James and its Canons.

At the altar of Saint James no one celebrates mass except a bishop or archbishop, or the Pope, or a cardinal of this church. There are

normally in this basilica seven cardinals who celebrate the divine office at the altar. They were constituted and recognized by many pontiffs and have been particularly confirmed by Pope Calixtus. This honour which the church of Saint James holds by a happy custom no one who has any regard for the Apostle should take away.

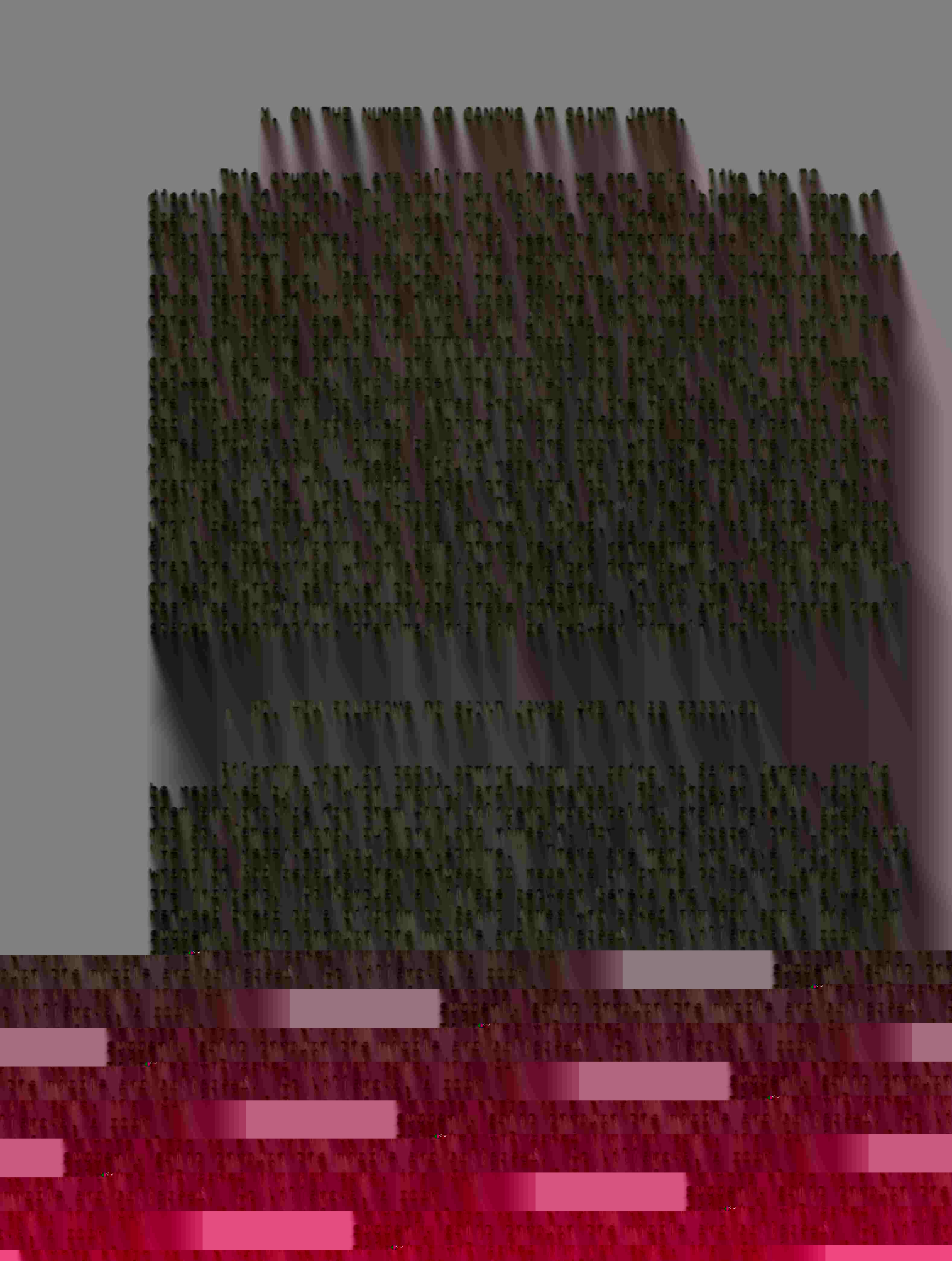
17. On the Stonemasons of the Church and the Beginning and End of the Work

The master masons who first built the basilica of Saint James were called Bernard the Old, a wonderful workman, and Robert, who worked there with about fifty other workman faithfully serving Don Wicarto and the Canon Don Segeredo and the Abbott Don Gundesindo, in the reign of Aldefonso, King of Spain, while Diego I was bishop, a most valiant soldier and a most noble man. The church was begun in the year 1116 of the Spanish era (A.D. 1078). From the year it was begun to the death of Aldefonso, the powerful and famous King of Spain, 59 years passed, and to the murder of Henry I, King of England, 62 years, and to the death of Louis VI, the Fat, King of France, 63 years, and from the year when the first stone was laid in the foundation to the year when the last was put in place, 44 years passed. From the very day the church was begun to this day the brilliance of St. James' miracles has made it flourish, for in this church the sick are restored to health, the blind are given sight again, the tongues of the mute are loosed and the ears of the deaf opened, a normal gait given the lame, those possessed by demons are freed, and what is greater yet, the prayers of the faithful are heard and their vows accomplished, the bound are freed from their chains, Heaven opens to those who knock, the sorrowful are given consolation, and strangers of all races and from all climes come there in throngs offering gifts and praises to God.

18. On the Status of Saint James' Church

It must not be forgotten that the status that belonged to the episcopal city of Merida, which had been the metropolitan see in Saracen country, was transferred to Saint James' basilica and its city by Pope Calixtus of blessed memory, and he gave it for love and honour of the Apostle, for which he ordained and confirmed Diego, a most noble man, the first Archbishop of the apostolic see of Compostela. Before that Diego had been the Bishop of Saint James.

X. ON THE NUMBER OF CANONS AT SAINT JAMES.



how Charlemagne mastered and subjugated Spain under the yoke of Christ. From the first book I took some, but few, of the sermons of Calixtus II, which are collected in this volume. The fifth book of the volume is about the various habits and customs of the peoples, and the routes by which one reaches Saint James, and how almost all the roads stop at Puente la Reina; it describes the states, castles, towns, mountains, good and bad waters, fishes, lands, men, and foodstuffs, and the saints who are worshipped with especial reverence along the way to Saint James, like St. Gilles, St. Martin and the rest. Contained in the same fifth book is a description of the site of Compostela and the names of the surrounding rivers and their number, not omitting the fountain called the Fountain of Paradise. It includes a sufficiently full description of the appearance of Saint James' basilica and the institution of the canons, how much they have to do with the distribution of offerings, and what their number is, and it tells how the dignity of the metropolitan see was transferred by the Popes at Rome from Merida to Compostela, for regard of the aforesaid Apostle.

From all this I excerpted what Your Beatitude may see with his faithful eyes in the present volume, if he would presently deign to do so. What should be read in church or in the refectory from these writings must be referred to the authority of the letter of Pope Calixtus of blessed memory, which must not be disregarded by any of the faithful, since the opinion of this Apostolic pillar took care to approve the aforesaid volume among the books to be read in church, which opinion was afterward supported by the venerable Innocent, High Pontiff of the Roman Church.

For the rest, this transcription of the present volume was finished in the year 1173, reckoned from the Incarnation of Our Lord.

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